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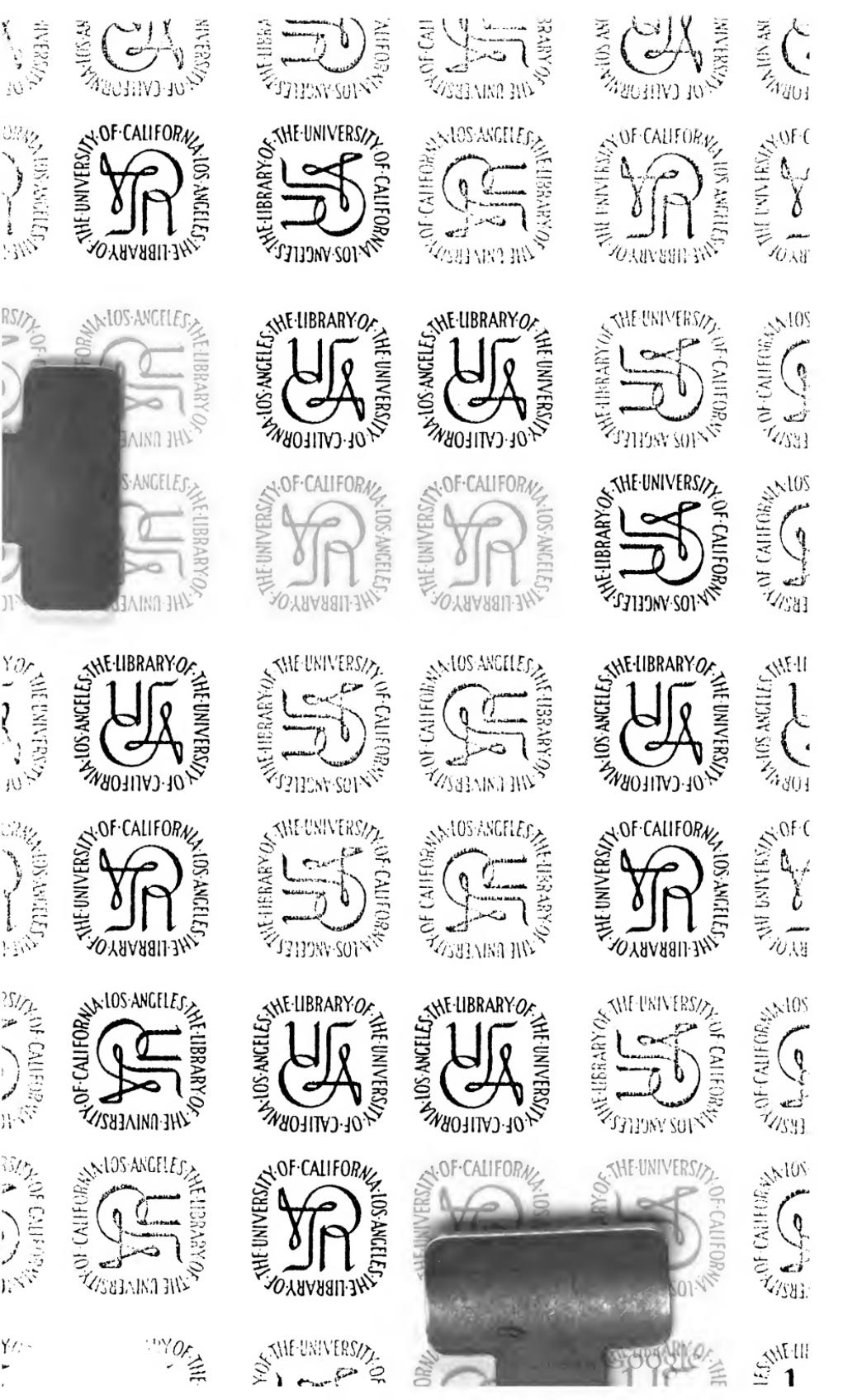
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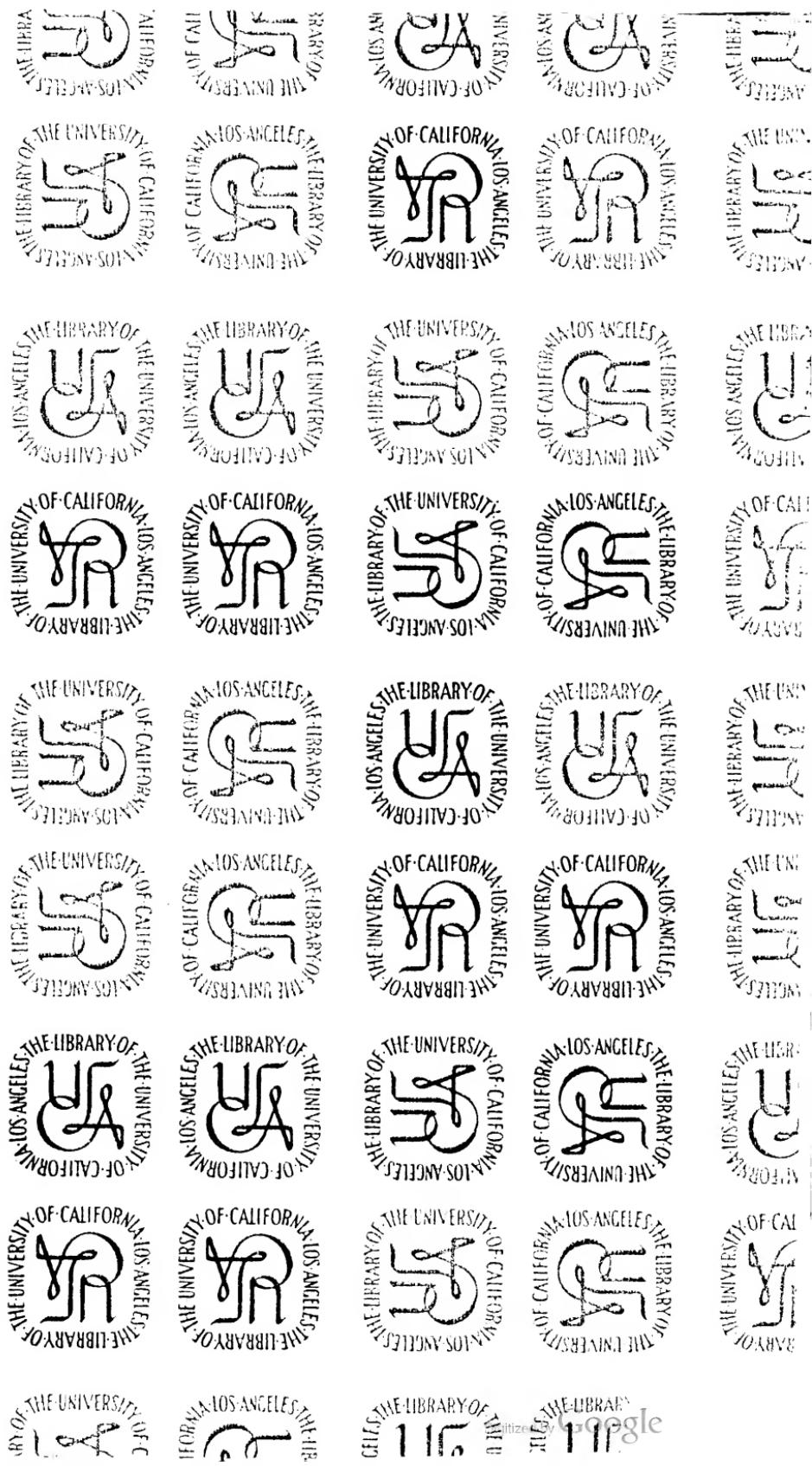
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THE LIFE
OF
FRA PAOLO SARPI

THE LIFE
OF
FRA PAOLO SARPI,

THEOLOGIAN AND COUNSELLOR OF STATE TO THE MOST SERENE REPUBLIC
OF VENICE, AND AUTHOR OF THE HISTORY OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENTE.

BY
ARABELLA GEORGINA CAMPBELL.
FROM ORIGINAL MSS.

“A MAN WHOSE FAME MUST NEVER DIE, TILL VIRTUE AND LEARNING BECOME
SO USELESS AS NOT TO BE REGARDED.” *Bishop Sanderson.*

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INTRODUCTION

The following pages are the result of the investigation and research of many years.

The autograph "Vita di Fra Paolo Sarpi," the life of Fra Paolo Sarpi by Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, was only discovered A.D. 1849 in the Archives of Venice, where I myself examined it under special favor, and was at the same time graciously permitted to peruse the WHOLE collection of Fra Paolo's MSS. of which there are twenty nine volumes folio.

Not more celebrated were the inhabitants of Brescia for their fidelity to ancient Rome, than was Fra Fulgenzio of Brescia for his fidelity to Fra Paolo of Venice, and his name is associated for ever with Paolo, as his true and devoted friend. The learned world owe a tribute of lasting gratitude to Fulgenzio, as the "faithful and accurate writer of the life of Paolo Sarpi,"¹ of whom the Cavaliere Cicogna justly affirms, "that there is no man of tolerable education who is ignorant." Of the same Order, for upwards of forty years occupant of the same convent, Fulgenzio was no ordinary judge either of the religion, genius, or attainments in learning and science of Fra

¹ Bayle.

Paolo. Fulgenzio was a man of high aim, and found in Paolo a guide to truth, to heaven. He was Professor of Philosophy at Bologna, and the correspondent of many of the learned. There are letters extant from Galileo to Fulgenzio, and one to him from Lord Bacon which accompanied the treatise " *De Augmentis Scientiarum*." While these letters demonstrate the esteem in which Fulgenzio was held by these illustrious men, his appointment as Theologian and Counsellor to the Republic of Venice on the death of Sarpi shows, that the Doge, Senate, and Council of Ten deemed Fulgenzio worthy to be his successor.

Griselini's work, " *Il Genio di Fra Paolo Sarpi*," in which he occupies four hundred pages with an account of the genius and learning of Fra Paolo, as well as the MSS. and work of Foscarini, " *Della Letteratura Veneziana*," have furnished much valuable matter, and a few of the names of the Authors consulted for this volume will be found in the Appendix.

As throughout his long life Paolo took a lively interest in the politics of Europe his biography would be incomplete without some historical notice of the period in which he lived, and I have chiefly followed as to dates the Chronicles of Sansovino, Martinioni, and that of the late Cavaliere Cicogna, for whose assistance at Venice I shall always consider myself indebted. Besides the Archives, the Marciana, and the private libraries of Venice, the Nazionale, the Riccardi and the Laurentian libraries of Florence were frequently visited. To the late Count Dandalo, Director General of the Archives of Venice, to the Signor Luigi Pasini, to the Abbate Valentinelli, the Librarian of the Marciana, to the Vice-Librarian, to the Coadjutor, Signor G. B. Lorenzi, and to all the directors and officials of these renowned institutions, as well as to those of the Bibliothéque Imperiale of Paris, the libraries of S. Genè-

viève, the Sorbonne, &c. &c., my warmest thanks are due; and I must not omit to repeat the same to the Director of the valuable Library of Boulogne sur Mer.

To Mr. Winter Jones, of the British Museum, my special thanks are most gratefully offered.

Mr. Rawdon Brown, the well known author of the "Calendar of State Papers relating to English affairs existing in the Archives and collections of Venice," most kindly permitted me to copy the despatches "of the Most Illustrious Ambassador Francesco Contarini," the valuable originals of which, as well as the translations, are in his possession at Venice.



THE LIFE
OF
FRA PAOLO SARPI.

CHAPTER I.

A.D. 1552 — A.D. 1565.

DOGES OF VENICE.	1545. Francesco Donato. 1548. M. A. Trevisano. 5
	1554. Francesco Veniero. 56-9. <i>✓</i> 9. <i>Picoli.</i>
SOVEREIGNS OF GERMANY AND SPAIN.	1519. Charles V. 1555. Philip II.
	1558. Ferdinand. 1564. Maximilian II.
ENGLAND.	1547. Edward VI. 1553. Mary 1558. Elizabeth.
FRANCE.	1547. Henry III. 1559. Francis II. 1560. Charles IX.
TURKEY.	1520. Soliman II. 1566. Selim II.
POPES.	1550. Julius III. 1555. Marcellus II. 1555. Paul IV.

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Birth. — Parents. — Morelli. — Education — Capella. — Pietro resolves to be a friar, takes the habit of a Servite, and the name of Paolo. — Disputation.

'The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were remarkable eras in the history of the world, both as to civil and ecclesiastical polity, and amid the struggles of the nations of Europe to maintain their independence of papal power, none offered a more determined resistance than the Republic of Venice against Pope Paul V. This was chiefly attributable to the counsel of Fra Paolo Sarpi, a Friar of the Order of the Servites, who was summoned from his Convent by the Doge and Senate, and appointed their Theologian. He was a remarkable man of his own or of any other age, and his whole life is replete with interest. Of true piety, of unsullied integrity, of lofty aspiration, of sound judgment, and of rare genius, if ever there lived a man whose heart glowed with pure and disinterested love to his country, with great and noble purpose, with calm but strong resolve to uphold her most sacred rights, that man was Paolo Sarpi. He was known in his earliest youth by the name of Pietro, and was born at Ve-

nice on the fourteenth of August A.D. 1552, and was the son of Francesco Sarpi and Isabella Morelli.<sup>1</sup> His ancestors were of S. Vito, and the small house in which his father Francesco was born, is still to be seen on the shore of Codomada. His mother was of a family which enjoyed the rights of the original citizens of Venice; and as the Venetians were divided into three classes, nobles, citizens and people, the descendants of the original citizens were proud of their position.

Francesco was a merchant of Venice, but his ill success there and at Soria must be ascribed to the turbulence of a spirit, which preferred war and bloodshed to the calm routine of a life of commerce. His dark and terrible visage, and short stature contrasted strongly with the fair complexion, beautiful features, and stately form of his wife Isabella, who to the charms of beauty added piety, wisdom, humility, and gentleness. Her hours were given to devotion and fasting, while Francesco's were spent in feats of arms.

Pietro resembled his mother, especially in the full dark eyes, which even to old age lighted up his finely formed features. Their expression was penetrating, but not inquisitive, calm yet resolute. The whole face bespoke intellect of no ordinary power, blended with an extreme modesty, and taught of heaven, his mind was early impressed with those principles of religion for which throughout life he was so distinguished. In infancy, Pietro was so small that he was called Herino, or little Peter, and he continued to be short in stature.

In childhood, he was silent and grave, but early misfortune may have contributed to cloud his brow, and for a time have robbed him of that cheerfulness which he afterwards evinced, even in his deepest sorrows. The death of his father left his mother and sister in reduced circumstances, when he was of such tender age as to be unable to lend them aid, and this could not fail to produce a deep impression on his mind.

But generous succour came, and in this exigency his maternal uncle, Morelli, a priest of the Collegiate church of S. Ermacora, nobly rescued Isabella and her children, Herino and his sister, from their forlorn condition, and not only provided for their maintenance, but devoted himself with well directed energy to Herino's education; and both he and Isabella "fostered those seeds of true religion, which by divine aid were in progress of time so fully developed, like the grain of mustard seed to which our Saviour compares the kingdom of heaven."<sup>2</sup>

Morelli was the Head of a school of high classical repute, to which the nobles of Venice sent their sons, and thus Herino had the advantage of

<sup>1</sup> Vita di F. P. Sarpi, MS.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid.

being educated with youths, who were destined in after years to fill the most influential positions in the state; and they, attracted by his genial and pleasing manners, formed friendships with him which were only severed by death.

The good Morelli soon discovered Perino's aptitude for learning, taxed his abilities to the utmost, and, alive to the value of that rare union which he found in Perino of a retentive memory combined with profound judgment, resolved to cultivate both to their full extent. He obliged him to recite much by heart, as well as to repeat *verbatim* what was once read to him, and in order to exercise his judgment, required him to write frequent compositions, but it is to be regretted that not one of these earliest productions of his pen has escaped the destructive hand of time. The Fathers of the Servi, who were conversant with his great learning, related marvellous anecdotes of his memory, but Perino assured them seriously, that his uncle had never asked him to repeat more than thirty lines of Virgil, or any author, after having heard them only once.

Having soon acquired proficiency in the Latin language, as well as in the other branches of a solid and classical education, Perino proceeded to higher attainments. Mathematics, in youth and in age, may be said to have been one of his favorite recreations. Philosophy, even in his boyhood, was not left unexplored, and Logie, to a mind so capable of its perception, was peculiarly attractive.

In this study he was assisted by Capella of Cremona, who was deeply versed in the abstruse theology of Duns Scotus, and who having discerned the great genius of Perino, read logic with him. Apparently this was an act of condescension, or at least of kindness, to the youthful student, but Capella soon avowed that his pupil, not only advanced opinions in opposition to his own, but proved them by such force of reasoning that he was constrained to adopt them, and confessed that he could teach him nothing more. Capella, however, was the means of gaining the youthful Sarpi to the Order of the Servi. He was one of the Servites, and being then resident at their great convent in the neighborhood of the house of Morelli, Perino had thus constantly associated with the Friars, and was so satisfied with their manner of life as to long to be one of their number.

His grave and silent disposition, added to his love of learning, tended to foster in his mind a desire for the cloister. To devote his time to God, and to be able to pursue his studies without molestation, appeared to him preferable to the life of a priest, which his mother and his uncle Morelli had resolved that he should be. In fact, they provided him with a habit similar to that of the priests of S. Ermacora, and endeavored by harsh treatment to extort submission to their wishes; but Perino was not to be overcome.

All their efforts were unavailing; one of the Servi, and one of the Servi only, would Perino be.

The tonsure could not be given without parental authority; <sup>1</sup> the time of this ceremony was yet distant, but even for permission to join the Servi as a novice, he had to wait in patient hope. He knew that being a native of Venice, according to the rules of the Servites, he could be received into their principal convent, and their eagerness to display his talents immediately after his reception, affords strong proof that these Friars wished to number Perino amongst them.

The pomp and glitter of the great world seemed to have little place in his mind. He was not insensible to the advantages of rank or position, but even in his early youth his mind rose to the magnificence of eternity; he weighed time and the things of time in the balance of true wisdom, and on no occasion did he betray that love of splendour common to the Venetians. This people, gifted by nature with a climate so favorable to display, were accustomed in the time of Sarpi to expend their wealth upon all that could minister either to luxury or to ease. The palaces of the nobles were adorned within by the matchless efforts of the pencil of Titian, for twenty four years Sarpi's contemporary, as well as by the works of Paul Veronese, Tintoretto, and other great masters, by classic sculpture, both antique and modern, by costly and gorgeous furniture, by rich and rare plate, all reflected in the brilliant mirrors of Venetia, while without, the graceful piles which Palladio or Sansovino, or others of little less renown had reared, drew admiration from every eye. The sun poured down a golden flood by day, and the moon by night cast her silvery gleams over spacious halls, where the voice of revelry and the splendour of the festivities given by the Doges Veniero and the Priuli, the successors of the good Trevisano, might have evoked in many a youthful breast a taste for amusement and a desire for wealth, but they met no response in Perino.

He had no other guides but those of the Church of Rome. They were the interpreters of his Bible, with which every member of the Order of Saint Augustine was, or might be, familiar. There exists no warrant for conventional life within its pages, and in the present age its prolongation, <sup>2</sup> or revival, can only be considered as a retrograde movement in religion, but three hundred years since, it is no marvel that Perino coveted a cell in the Convent of the Servi in the city of Venice.

After the death of his father, his mother had associated with the Eremita d'Ermacora, and her life was one of great sanctity. From her and

<sup>1</sup> Annal. Baronius.

<sup>2</sup> Sarpi dates its rise in Italy A.D. 800, and at Rome A.D. 350. — *Trattato delle Materie Benefiziarie*, p. 11.

from his uncle, Pietro learned abstinence and selfdenial, and by natural inclination as well as by early habit, having no taste either for public amusements or the luxuries of the palate, neither comparative seclusion nor the simple food of a convent was repulsive to him. Throughout life he had almost a contempt for riches, and although endowed with talents which might have commanded position and fortune, he was never seduced by the golden bait on many occasions held out to him.

From the year of his birth until A.D. 1565 a great part of Europe had been plunged in war, and the future prospects of the State, as well as of the Church, were full of gloom. Contrasted with this apparently coming struggle, the quiet and repose of a cell within the " religious College " <sup>1</sup> of the Servi was to him like the desired haven to an expecting mariner.

He knew the wide difference between the life of a monk and that of a friar, — the perpetual seclusion of many of the former order being totally at variance with his feelings. Capable of strong friendship and eager for knowledge, as a friar he could go from place to place, see his friends, visit the various seats of learning, and responsible chiefly to the Prior of the Convent, could enjoy more liberty within than without its walls: this was a powerful reason to his independent mind, but he had yet another. Although so young, Perino was gifted with acute observation, and Venice was the resort of many who had withdrawn from the Council of Trent in dissatisfaction.

Overawed by the Ambassadors or Nuncios, or deceived by the promises of the Papal Legates and their supporters, the Venetian Prelates had given their approval of the Council and its decrees at its close (A. D. 1563): all were to be excommunicated who did not obey its dictates, and Perino had early held the doctrines of Saint Augustine, which were certainly not those enforced, through the influence of the Jesuits chiefly, at the Council of Trent, but which nevertheless have been held by many members of the Church of Rome, both before and since that Council.

Although there were many names of note amongst the Order of the Servi, and they had long been esteemed an honorable body of men, yet friars were generally of lower birth than monks; this, however, did not influence Perino. He believed that as one of a mendicant body he would be a servant of God, who has worlds and their treasures at his disposal, and although he mistook the meaning of the demand of heaven, in laying on its altar a sacrifice unasked, in the manner of surrender of himself as approved by the Church of Rome, no doubt can exist on the mind of those who study the life of " the incomparable historian of

<sup>1</sup> Sarpi.

the Council of Trent, " <sup>4</sup> that his piety was as sincere, as his genius was exalted. He never wavered in his resolution to enter the Order of the Servi, though for a long and painful period he bent, as the supple willow bends to the mountain torrent, only to rise again to its former height when the waters have passed by.

He suffered much from the continued opposition of his mother and uncle, but at length they yielded, convinced that his purpose was irrevocable, and at the age of thirteen years, on the twenty fourth of November 1565, Perino took the habit of the Servi, and assumed the name of Paolo in lieu of Pietro. It was the custom of the times for the learned to hold public disputations, and the day after Paolo became a Servite he was required to argue on the proposed theses in the Church of the Minor Order of the Franciscans, commonly called the Frari, which was built in the fourteenth century and consecrated in 1492. Its architecture was after a design of Pisano, of the thirteenth century, and both its interior and exterior bear witness to the zeal with which the Franciscans were aided by the patricians and citizens of Venice. It was ornamented by seven columns, the gifts of the nobles Giustiniani, Gradenigo and the citizen Aguié, and was the mausoleum of many of the heroes of Venetia. The Doge Dandolo, Conte della Torre, Trevisano, Foscari, Foscarini and many more lie there.

The modern traveller or resident in Venice, as he gazes on the tombs of Titian the Prince of Painters, and of Canova the sculptor, with admiration, will not fail to trace the works of their predecessors Bellini and Vivarni, or the chisel of Sansovino, who all lent their powerful aid to beautify this venerable fane. The Palla dei Pesari was then in all its pristine beauty, and was justly esteemed one of the greatest works of Titian. The sculptures of the Fratelli Bregni, the statue of the Doge Troono, that of Benedetto da Pesaro, and above all the beautiful alto reliefos of the crucifixion and entombment of the Holy Redeemer were then as now objects of interest. Who has not looked on the Saint John the Baptist, which surmounts the baptismal font, as a sculpture which its artist Jacopo Sansovino rarely equalled and never surpassed?

There, amidst the monuments of the illustrious dead and a concourse of the learned living, stood Fra Paolo Sarpi. And who was he that, amid so much to attract the eye and charm the imagination, arrested the attention of all? He was no high dignitary of the Church in gorgeous and dazzling robes, — he was no aged man, who brought with him the influence of his position, and the maturity and experience of years, — he was no well known wrestler in the learned

<sup>4</sup> Gibbon.

encounters, — he was no victor in these hard fought strife, — he was but a beardless youth without station or influence, clad in the simple black habit of a Servite friar. He was a stranger in the lists of public controversy, he was as yet no aspirant for the palm. Thirteen years only had passed over him, but he reasoned with an ability which would have done honor to hoary hairs. The audience listened and wondered and admired, and the youth, unused to his conventional habit, gave them cause to smile as, on bowing to the assembly, instead of taking off his cap as he had been accustomed to do, he was so engrossed with his subject that he took off his hood, and held it in his hand all the time of the disputations.

In this Church, the arena of his first triumph in the world of letters, the eye vainly seeks to rest on some monument to the fame of Sarpi. A misconception exists as to the statue on the basement of the tomb of Titian by Zandomenghi, that statue of an aged man is not a representation of Fra Paolo, but an allegorical representation of the sixteenth century; and the book which lies at the foot of the statue is not the History of the Council of Trent, but the Canons and Decrees of that Council, first published by Aldus Manutius A. D. 1564.

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## CHAPTER II.

A.D. 1233 — A.D. 1565.

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Fra Paolo's account of the origin and history of the Order of the Servites. — The seven founders leave Florence for Monte Sanario. — Church and Convent. — Monaldi, first General of the Order. — S. Benizzi. — Servites sent to Venice. — Church and Convent of the Servi there. — Government. — Rule.

Although it may perhaps be thought to be in some degree a digression from our main subject, yet as every incident in the life of Fra Paolo, after he took the vows, was so intimately connected with the Convent and Fraternity of the Servi, some acquaintance with the history of that religious Order cannot be altogether irrelevant, and almost appears to be required, in this stage of his biography for the proper understanding of the sequel. The reader will therefore pardon its introduction in this place, commencing with an extract from his autograph letter, followed by a literal translation.

“ *De ordine servorum quod quaeris explicabo. Origo est ex Florentiâ; in eâ civitate mercatores quidam se in Collegium coegerunt Anno Dom. 1230, quo tempore ea regio huiusmodi partuum ferax fuit.* ”

“ *Dicebant laudes \* \* primùm quod in laudibus B. Virginis cantillandis assiduè occuparentur, mendicare coeperunt, ut tunc et in eâ regione mos novorum Collegiorum fuit habitu induti toto nigro, ut B. Virginis mortuum filium lugenti collugerunt.* ”

“ *Hæc de causis. A vulgo tunc servi B. Mariæ vocati, unde ad nos successores nomen et color vestium fuerit.* ”<sup>1</sup>

“ Your inquiry, ” says Fra Paolo to M. Gillot, “ respecting the Order of the Servi, I will explain. Their origin is from Florence. In that city certain merchants united themselves into a College, A. D. 1230, at which period that country was fruitful in projects of this nature. Their worship at first consisted of praises to \* \* and especially, they were assiduously occupied in chanting the praises of the blessed Virgin, and they commenced begging as mendicants, as was

<sup>1</sup> “ *Jesus Christus,* ” thus were the \* \* read to me by one of the Order.

the custom of new Colleges in that period and in that country, habited entirely in black, to mark their sympathy with the Blessed Virgin mourning for her dead Son.

" Such is their origin, and being called from that time ' Servi di Maria,' or ' Servants of Mary,' it is from thence that the name, and color of the vestments have attached to us, their successors. "

It is evident from this statement that the Holy Saviour was the first great object of worship, and this is readily admitted by the Servi who remain. As the worship of the Virgin in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries rose to a great height, the founders of the Servi shared in the innovation. In the statement of Fra Paolo there is no mention of miracles or visions attendant on the institution of the Order, but there are such in the Annals of the Servites by Gianio.

The Order of the Servi di Maria was instituted A.D. 1233,<sup>1</sup> in the time of Gregory IX; in the reign of S. Louis, King of France; of Alfonso, King of Castile; Peter of Arragon; Sancius II, King of Lusitania; Henry II, King of England; Boleslaus King of Poland, and Alexander II, King of Scotland.<sup>2</sup> There were three Orders of the Servi: one for men, another for seculars of both sexes, and a third for women living in perpetual seclusion. The Servi were a lesser Order of the Order of Saint Augustine. Its founders were seven in number; they were all members of the Senate, and gifted with ample fortune. Monaldi, Manetti, dell' Antella, Amidei, Uggucioni, Sostegni and Falconnieri, had long been accustomed to meet together in the church of the Santa Reparata, and on "the day of the Assumption" they were all inspired with the same wish to renounce the world. They communicated to each other an account of the celestial visions which they believed they had seen, and all sold their property, and gave the proceeds to the poor. The sale was effected after they had received advice from the Bishop Ardingo Foraboschi,<sup>3</sup> who filled the Bishopric of Florence with credit for many years. His credulity, however, was great, and his belief in the appearance of the Virgin Mary to himself and to the Servi was one of the sources whence credence in miracles without proof, and the worship of the Virgin were fostered amongst the greater part of the Order of the Servi, especially those of Florence. Had Bishop Ardingo risen, as did Paolo Sar-

<sup>1</sup> From a curious illuminated MS. of the fourteenth century; Laurentian Library, Florence. " Dialogvs Fratris Pavli Florentini de Origine Ordinis Servor ad Petrus Cosme incipit." — P. 1. Anno mcxxxiii. Gregori Noni Pontificum anno quarto decimo. — P. 10.

<sup>2</sup> " Annalivm sacri ordinis Fratrvm Servorvm B. Mariae Virginis. Archangelo Gianio, Florentia, 1618. Bib. Riccardi. — Magliabechi, lib. 1, cap. Garbi, lib. 1, 17, Annalium Servorum, Marciana.

<sup>3</sup> Cerrachini p. 75. Nobilità di Firenze, MS.

pi, above the prejudice and ignorance of his age, had he rejected the accounts of the visions of these Florentines, it would have been an easier task for all who succeeded him to convince his fellow countrymen that the worship of the Virgin had neither the sanction of Holy Writ, the Fathers, nor the early Councils. But the Bishop, not only listened to their recital of visions, but confirmed them in their belief of these, exhorted them not to defer obedience to the commands of heaven, and permitted them to have an oratory and an altar to celebrate mass wherever they judged expedient. He also became their Protector, and as they intended to live on alms only, he allowed them to beg in the town of Florence and its environs. Their homes were no longer sumptuous palaces within their own beautiful city, but a miserable house without its walls, where they exchanged their senatorial robes for habits the color of ashes, their fine linen for hair-cloth, their jewelled girdles for chains of iron. The people who had known their previous riches and condition regarded them with admiration, but it is incredible that even infants, of whom S. Philip Benizzi was said to have been one, and who was then only five months old, pointed to the Seven in the streets and cried, "Behold the Servants of the blessed Mary!" "Ecce Servi! Ecce Servi! B. Mariæ." However, Bishop Ardingo enjoined them to adopt "the Servants of Mary" as the name of their Order, and appears to have believed that it was miraculously given. They remained for a year in their wretched dwelling, but such was the influx of visitors which the fame of their sanctity attracted to their abode, that unable to obtain either quiet or seclusion, on the thirteenth of March A.D. 1249 they retired to Monte Sanario, a mountain situated about eight miles north of the city of Florence, and Bishop Ardingo, with the consent of his Chapter, having bestowed a part of Monte Sanario upon them, they began to build a church on the ruins of an ancient castle, around which they constructed wooden cells, where roots and herbs were their only food, and the mountain stream their only beverage. These austerities, however, were too severe for some of his brethren, and Monaldi sent Manetti and Falconieri to Florence to solicit alms, from whence they returned daily to Monte Sanario, and there, where the Convent of the Servi now stands, they were located for some time.

The position of the Convent is very grand: it towers far above the valley beneath, where lies the beautiful city of Florence, from which to Monte Sanario there is a continuous incline, by which it is customary to ascend the highest part of the mountain in a waggon drawn by oxen, and on the building where they are kept, there is a cross and the letter S above a representation of the six hills which surround the Convent.

Near this isolated retreat the road is rugged and steep, and a forest of dark pine trees of enormous growth, on the slope of the mountain on ei-

ther side of the road, seem like an impenetrable phalanx of guards to defy the approach of the rude tempest; but their dark frown is not reflected within the Convent, the genial welcome of whose inhabitants to strangers is as cordial as it is dignified.<sup>1</sup>

The initials of the hermits of Monte Sanario may still be seen, with various other devices, over the entrance. The arms of the Servi in 1607 were a lily interlaced with the letter S, as on the interior of the cloister and on the Presbytero of the Annunciata, but in later years a crown was added. On the writer questioning when this crown was added, the answer was, "By a King of France," and thus have the arms of the Servi remained. But this addition of a crown is only one of many proofs of the increase of the adoration of the Virgin among the Servites, and its history must be searched into before determining what belongs to a present, what to a past age.

At length the seven founders obtained a small hospital at Florence, near the gate which led to their solitude, and adjoining their Convent the Church of the Annunciata was built by Falconnieri.<sup>2</sup> Its riches and magnificence need no comment here, but the story of the founders of the Servi was represented in after years by the frescoes which adorn the court of the Church and the cloisters of the Convent, as also by the words placed beneath the frescoes, and thus have the reports of miracles, for which there is no divine authority, been perpetuated.

Gianio remarks, that the Virgin not only appeared in a vision to the Servi, but showed them a black habit which she commanded them to wear in memory of the passion of her Son, and also presented them with the rule of Saint Augustine;<sup>3</sup> but those conversant with the pages of Gianio will agree with Helyot and others in charging him with being apt to repeat from hearsay.

After the above mentioned vision in which Bishop Ardingo believed, he gave the seven founders a habit similar to that which the Servites said had been shown to them by the Virgin Mary. It was a large black tunic together with a woollen shirt, a small white tunic, a hood and mantle, and a girdle of leather. It was of the same form as that still worn by the Order, and it corresponds very nearly with the form and color of the habit as represented to have been worn by Paolo Sarpi in his portrait by Carpioni, which till 1811 adorned the refectory of his Convent, the only apparent difference in the dress given by Bishop Ardingo and that represented in this portrait being, that the color of the under garment determines it to have been linen.

<sup>1</sup> Visited 1864.

<sup>2</sup> Migliore. Chiese di Firenze. MS. — MSS. Magliabechi.

<sup>3</sup> Annal. Serv. 6 11.

With the exception of Falconnier, all took orders, and the Servi enjoyed the protection of Innocent IV and the approbation of Pope Alexander, who permitted them to receive the Convents offered to them, and also to possess churches and grounds for burial.

After filling the office of Prior, Monaldi became the first General of his Order, and was succeeded by Manetti. In a Chapter convoked at Florence A.D. 1266, the Order was divided into two provinces, but afterwards into four. Dell'Antella succeeded Jacopo di Poggibonza as fourth General, and this distinguished Servite died in the arms of Benizzi who was elected in his place, and as he contributed greatly to the extension of the Order of Servi, he demands notice.

He was a youth of enthusiastic temperament, wont to believe in visions and dreams, as people of warm imagination but weak judgment are apt to do, and having attended service in the Chapel of the Annunciata, the words "Philippe accede et adjunge te ad currum istum,"<sup>1</sup> convinced him that heaven called upon him to serve God more devotedly. He went home, slept, and dreamed. In his dream he believed that he heard in a vision the Virgin calling him to serve her. He awoke, forsook the study of medicine, attached himself to the Servi, and became one of the most distinguished of the Order; he preached throughout many of the towns of Italy and of France, and taught his hearers to show that peculiar adoration to the Virgin Mary for which he was so conspicuous. As a lover of peace his presence was hailed by the discordant families of Tuscany, but he was arrested in his career by Pope Innocent V, who having approved of the revival of the edict of the Lateran Council against all new Orders, determined to abolish that of the Servi. Benizzi was forbidden to receive any novice, or to sell any property belonging to the Convent which was declared confiscated to the Pope, but as the Pontiff only survived some months the Order was spared suppression, but only to receive further vexatious treatment from several of the Pontiff's successors until relieved by Honorius IV.

Sostegni and Uggucioni after much toil returned to Monte Sanario. They had expressed a wish to die together, and while discoursing on subjects relative to their Order, they both expired on the same day and at the same hour. Their death was followed by that of Benizzi, whose tomb is yet to be seen near the Convent of Monte Sanario, as well as some of the incidents of his life delineated in the paintings in its chapel.

Boniface VIII granted the same privileges to the Order of the Servi as he had bestowed on the Hermits of Saint Augustine. Benedict XI protected them; Urban VI allowed them to hear confession; Martin V

<sup>1</sup> *Annal. Serv. c. 18, 22.*

gave them the privileges of the begging Orders, and in the year 1484, they were called Friars. Clement VI was the first Pope who approved of their constitutions, Innocent VIII confirmed their former privileges and bestowed greater upon them, and like all the other mendicant Orders, the Servi were entitled to assist at the funerals of Cardinals.

Falconnieri, having attained the age of 110, expired in the year 1310, and shortly after this event the Order was extended to Venice. As in after years Fra Paolo was a friar of the principal Convent of the Servites there, that body here claims our attention.

In the year 1314, several of the Servi, men of known piety, were sent to Venice by Fra Pietro da Todi, eighth General of the Order, and were well received by Giovanni Avanzo, who proposed to found a Convent for them at his own expense. The Bishop was absent<sup>1</sup>, but the Servi having procured a site, the Vicar General allowed them to found an Oratory. The Bishop approved, promised the erection of a Church, and deputed the Bishop of Scarponto to lay the first stone, and to consecrate the cemetery. The Servi being held in great repute on account of their zeal, the offerings were so large as to enable them to build a Convent: and Avanzo having left a considerable revenue to the friars, they undertook the building of their Church.

Its foundations were laid on those of the former, but it did not reach the height of its magnificence till the close of the fifteenth century.<sup>1</sup> In raising this structure, the Friars had spent even the money allotted for their food, in consequence of which the Cardinal Legate enriched the Convent by the gift of S. Caterina d'Isola and its revenues, and his uncle Pope Sixtus granted plenary indulgence to all who brought alms or offerings to the Church,<sup>2</sup> by this means the stately edifice was completed. This Church and the great Convent of

<sup>1</sup> De Monasteris S. M. Ordinis Servorum, ecc. Ecclesia Venetæ, 2, 6. F. Cornelis.

<sup>2</sup> "This manner of gaining money was put in practice after the year c. 1100, for Pope Urbane II, having granted a plenary Indulgence and remission of all sins to whoever made warre in the Holy Land, to regaine and set at liberty the sepulchre of Christ out of the hands of the Mahometans, was imitated by his successors for many hundred of years, some of which, /as always new inventions are enlarged/ granted it to those who maintained a souldier in case they could not or would not go to warre themselves in person. And in progresse of time, the same indulgence and pardons were given for the taking of arms against those that obeyed not the Church of Rome, although they were Christians, and for the most part exactions were made. Under these pretences, all which, or the greater part, were applied to other uses." — Translation by Brent, and MS. His. of the Council of Trent. Mariana, Sarpi.

the Servi once occupied a large area of ground on the north of the city of Venice, and stood near the bridge of Santa Fosca, and in the street S. Hieronomo. The Convent filled more than two sides of the area, and the Church of the Servi was thus described by Sansovini.

" It is built in the form of a square, and is rich in sculpture, paintings and many noble chapels dedicated to illustrious men. Here are the B. Virgin and Saint Augustine by Paul Veronese, the Assumption which adorns the altar by Salviati, and the Palla, the Manger and the three Magi by Giovanni di Perugia. There are also five beautiful sculptures on the altar of Gabriel di Gazoni, a knight of Malta. The Church is likewise famous on account of two princes who lie buried here, the Doge Vedramino in a marble tomb of great beauty, and the Doge Francesco Donato. Here also is the altar of the Magdalene, at whose feet in mezzo relieve lies Verda daughter of Martina della Scala, Lord of Verona, and wife of N. d'Este, Duke of Ferrara. Near the Sacristy is the marble statue of Giovanni Emo which surmounts his richly gilded tomb. On the other side of the window without, is the Oratory of the Volto Santo of Lucca, built by the Lucchese who came to Venice A.D. 1309, and the story of the Volto Santo was painted on their Fraternity by Semitecollo. The altar table in the Sacristy was the work of Benedetto Diana.

On the two small pannels above an altar in the Church, the Saviour is represented in the midst of his Apostles. It seems as if Philip were asking him, " Lord show us the Father and it sufficeth us," and that Christ was answering, " He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; I and my Father are one." These words are written at the feet of the finely executed figures by Bonifacio the Venetian. Tintoretto painted the Annunciation on the organ, S. Paul and S. Augustine; and underneath a fresco, Cain killing Abel, and another Annunciation above the Altar of the Crucifixion. The altar with S. Onofrius and S. James was the admirable work of Corona. Peranda painted the altar cloth, S. Philip Benizzi is the subject. In the refectory is the large painting on canvas of Christ as the guest of Simon the leper with the Magdalen weeping for her past sins, and washing this feet with her hair. In the back ground two angels in admirable perspective are pourtrayed flying in the midst bearing a scroll, and on the scroll these words, " There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth." Judas in an angry attitude is in the act of reproving the penitent. Among the persons seated at the table are the portraits of certain of the Fathers of the Convent, all the work of the great Paolo Caliari Veronese." Fra Antonio Gradenigo built an altar of great splendor in the Church of the Servi for the reception of relics, and by permission of Pope

John XXIII, many were removed thither. In those days of darkness, Rome taxed the credulity of her subjects in a manner which at a later period lessened the ties which once bound them to her rule.

But we must not omit to notice that regular discipline having declined amongst the Friars of the Servi, the Doge Vendramino requested Sixtus IV to confer the Convent of the Servi at Venice on the regular Order of the Servi of Monte Sanario. This petition was granted, and the Convent was made subject to the Patriarch of Venice, but only till A. D. 1513, when Leo X declared it to be under the immediate rule of the Prior General, on condition of its being maintained in the regular observance of established discipline.

Thirty two Generals presided successively over the Order which had now risen to great popularity, many of its members being men of learning and distinction. Gerardo, Bartholomeo and Calbo had many worthy successors, but after naming the nobles Piccolomini, Stuffa, du Bourg, du Saint Sepulchre, Adipari, the Cardinals Laurerio and Be-nutio, Helyot adds, "there were several writers amongst them, the most famous of whom was Paul Sarpi, better known as Fra Paolo, Theologian and Counsellor of the Republic of Venice, deeply versed in the Latin Greek and Hebrew tongues, as well as in Mathematics." And now, having brought this account down to the time when Fra Paolo became one of the Order of the Servi, it only remains to say a few words respecting its government. This has been called a democracy although such were its restrictions that it was in reality almost an aristocracy. Those who conducted its affairs were, a Protector, a Vice Protector, a Provincial General and subject to them were Priors, Procurators, Definitors and Syndics, whose respective duties will be noticed in another place, but it may be observed here, that the General resided at Rome, that the Prior General ruled the provinces, that the Prior was Head of his own Convent and could enforce obedience to his commands, the Procurator and Syndic took account of the temporal affairs of the Convent, the Sacristan had charge of all that belonged to the service of the Church, another member of the household goods, the Custode of the bread and wine, as well as of all the food or meat eaten with bread. The Hospitaller undertook the care of the hospitals, and the porters, who were laics, of the doors of the infirmary.<sup>1</sup>

The Servi took the three vows common to all the religious Orders, and continued to follow the rule called the Rule of Saint Augustine, of which the following is a summary.

<sup>1</sup> Giovini.

- I. Union as becoming those who dwell in the same house, of one heart and mind in God and the possession <sup>of</sup> all things in common.
- II. Prayer and fasting.
- III. Deportment and clothing.
- IV. To show great charity, to all especially to the weak.
- V. Brotherly love.
- VI. Obedience to Prelates.
- VII. Observance of the whole rule. <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Regula Beati Patris Agostini et conditiones Fratrum Servorum.

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## CHAPTER III.

A.D. 1565 — A.D. 1578.

DOGES OF VENICE. G. Priuli. 1567. Pietro Loredano.

1570. Luigi Mocenigo. — *Abrise*

1571. Sebastiano Veniero.

1578. Nicolo da Ponte.

SOVEREIGNS OF GERMANY. Max. II. Rodolph II.

ENGLAND. Elizabeth.

SCOLLAND. Mary.

FRANCE. Charles IX. 1574 Henry III.

SPAIN. Philip II.

TURKEY. Selim II. Amurath II.

POPES. Pius IV. 1566. Pius V. 1572. Gregory XIII.



Fra Paolo Studies. — Zacheria. — Disputation. — Famine. — Fire. — Divisions. — F. Paolo solicited to go to Mantua. — Olivo Camillo. — F. Paolo on astrology. — Leaves Mantua. — Life at Venice. — He goes to Milan. — The plague. — MSS. — Fra Paolo takes a degree at Padua. — Priest's Orders. — Provincial. — Sent to Rome. — Reform of the Constitutions. — Worship of the Virgin.

Fra Paolo continued to pursue his studies in the quietude of his Convent during his novitiate; at the age of fifteen he professed; and thus by solemn promise to observe the Rule, he united himself to the Order of the Servi for life. Fortunately for him, Zaccheria<sup>1</sup> was General, and his wise government was a salutary boon after the disorder which prevailed during the Generalship of his predecessor. Zaccheria was the friend of the noble Braccio Ricasoli,<sup>2</sup> and Fra Paolo had thus early examples of piety and worth in men who filled high positions with zeal and integrity. In his seclusion Fra Paolo had not forgotten his schoolfellows, nor had they for-

<sup>1</sup> It was usual for a General to choose his motto, Zaccheria's was, "Domminus suscepit me."

<sup>2</sup> This great man was the ancestor of the illustrious Baron Ricasoli of the present age, the patriot who has dared to show his reverence of religion in the highest assembly of Italy, a noble who possesses all the inflexibility of the high minded and ancient Roman, with an enlightenment which must ever reflect honor on his country.

gotten him. They often left their palaces to visit him in his cell, and throughout life always welcomed him with that urbanity for which the Venetians are so distinguished.

In the month of October, he received a command to dispute in public at Mantua, on the power of the Popes and of the Councils, and the new opinions of the Innovators. Fra Paolo had early held the opinions of many of his countrymen, especially of some within the Senate, who were inimical to the Papal power; and if he advanced any such on this occasion they would not have been unpopular with men, who, like himself, rejoiced in the rejection of the Bull *In Cœna Domini*, which Pius V, as well as his successors, endeavored to enforce. The Republic had also resisted the Inquisition as elsewhere established; three of her Senators were present during enquiries before that tribunal. In several instances they had been forced to succumb to the Popes, and by their command several persons who professed the opinions of the Reformers had been given up to death besides Algieri; but to the bigotry and superstition of the times in their fullest extent Venice rose superior. It may have served political purposes, but assuredly it has not served the cause of just criticism or of truth, to represent the Republic either so cruel or so persecuting as other nations of Europe. While Philip, King of Spain, induced revolt in the Netherlands by persecution on account of religion, while "many also were at this time burned in France, not without the indignation of honest men who knew that the diligence used against those poor people was not for pietie or religion, but to satiate the covetousness of Diana Valentina, to whom," the King "had given all the confiscations of goods made in the kingdom for cause of heresy;" <sup>1</sup> while England had witnessed deeds too direful to relate, Venice had struggled to act independently of the Pope, and sought to defeat the ambitious views of the King of Spain, who had fixed his iron grasp upon Italy with a power which took ages to unloose.

The year 1568 was one of distress. Fra Paolo returned from Mantua to his Convent, but to compassionate the privations of the poor. The harvest had failed throughout Venetia, and famine was the sad result. Bright eyes had grown dim, countenances once radiant with health had become wan and pallid, robust forms attenuated by want were to be seen on every side, the voice of mirth was exchanged for the heavy plaints of the sick and the dying. Whatever may have been the munificence of the rich in such a calamity (and the Italians are charitable to a proverb), human aid was inefficient, and in the lone, narrow, secluded streets of the vast and populous city of Venice, who can tell how many suffered, drooped, and

<sup>1</sup> Sapri.

died, who would not, or could not, crave aid at the beautiful gate of the Convent of the Servi?

But famine was not the only misfortune which befell Venetia. On the fourteenth of September A.D. 1569, at the hour of midnight, the arsenal of Venice was in flames. The strong hold of her strength and prowess seemed about to be swept to destruction, and the noise of an explosion, as tremendous as ever fell on human ear, told the sad tidings to the city and to all within a circuit of thirty miles. Fire had been communicated to the powder magazine and the arsenal; its towers, roofs and massive walls had been blown to pieces. No less than four churches, and a considerable number of buildings, were thrown down or absolutely destroyed. Even in the most distant part, the shock was felt as if Venice had been visited by an earthquake. It was severely felt in the Convent of Fra Paolo, where his midnight prayers were changed to grateful praise at early morn, that the whole city, together with his Convent, had not been destroyed: its preservation was owing to a great quantity of gunpowder having been previously removed from the arsenal. Four galleys only were lost; Venice had still two hundred vessels of war. Her navy was yet her own.

It would have been a noble deed to have spared a neighbouring kingdom, so lately emancipated from the straits of famine and of fire, but Kuoless, the great historian of the Ottoman Empire, chronicles that the Sovereign of Turkey had no such magnanimity, he continued to breathe out bloodshed and desolation.

Meantime, Fra Paolo endeavored to tread the path of tranquillity and peace; but this was no easy task, for discord prevailed between the two parties into which the Order of the Servi had divided themselves; those who wished to retain their old constitutions were distinguished by the name of "the Conventuali," and those who advocated a reformation of them by that of the "Congregazione de'Servi." Fra Paolo belonged to the latter body, of which there were about seventy Convents, but the two bodies were reunited in the year 1570, and shortly after Paolo was called upon to defend publicly three hundred and eighteen of the most difficult propositions in Divinity and Natural Philosophy;<sup>1</sup> on which occasion his replies were so felicitous, and the proofs of his abilities so extraordinary, that he not only pleased and surprised his hearers, but was rewarded by an annual grant of seven scudi from his Convent for the purchase of books. More than this, his fame reached the ear of Guglielmo Gonzago, Duke of Mantua, a munificent patron of learning and learned men who, as one of the early and influential friends of Fra Paolo, may here claim attention.

<sup>1</sup> "Con difendere 318 delle più difficili proposizioni della Sacra Teologia e della Filosofia Naturale." MS.

He was fond of listening to disputations, and had been present at the Council of Trent, in the hope of seeing the introduction of liberality of sentiment, but he was disappointed. He disliked the horrors of the Inquisition, he was no abettor of the severe and cruel measures of the reigning Pope, and when he refused to send some persons suspected of heresy to Rome, Pius V immediately threatened him with excommunication and war, which were only prevented by the intercession of the Princes of Italy. At a later period, when he sought the freedom of one of his relations who had been incarcerated by the lawless Inquisition for heresy, his demand was sternly repelled by the Inquisitor, who said, although he acknowledged the Duke as his temporal Prince, he obeyed the commands of the Pope, whose power was superior to that of any secular; and on the Duke again pressing his request, the Inquisitor exhibited the tantalizing sight of the keys of the dungeon where his victim was immured, but dared the Ducal envoy to unlock the door at his peril.<sup>1</sup>

That the Duke had protected those accused of "heresy" could not be unknown to Fra Paolo, but this did not hinder his compliance with the Duke's invitation, who commanded the Superior of S. Barnaba to receive him into the Convent at Mantua; accordingly he went thither, and was immediately appointed Theologian to the Duke.

The stigma of heresy was, at this period of the history of Europe, chiefly applied to the opinions of those who favored reform either within or without the Church of Rome. There were many who clung to that Church in which they had been baptized and nurtured, but whose learning, research, intelligence and observation convinced them that, in place of ancient truths bequeathed to the Church by the Great Head thereof, many of the dogmas and rites of the Church of Rome had been superadded by the Pontiffs, although opposed by many of the Clergy and Laity, as well before and at, as after the Council of Trent.

As Chaplain and guest of the Duke, Fra Paolo had frequent opportunities of conversation with him, and the Duke took delight, as also his learned friends, in drawing out the talents of the young Friar by proposing to him difficult questions on every variety of subject; for the court of this "good Mæcenas" was a centre of attraction to the lovers of the arts as well as of the sciences.

Mantua itself is classic ground, and as such it was regarded with interest by Fra Paolo. The birthplace of the illustrious poet Virgil in its neighbourhood recalled to his mind the noble lines which he had used to commit to memory at the school of Morelli, when he little dreamed of

<sup>1</sup> De Porta, Tom. II, p. 486. Epist. Tob. Egliui ad Bullingerum. 2 Mart. 1568.

being favored by the Ducal house of Mantova la Gloriosa. The reader may now accompany him in his rambles within and without this ancient city, crossing the waters of the gentle-flowing Mincio, looking on the regular tetragon of the citadel, studying the gothic pile reared by Biaccolsi, then remodelled by Giulio Romano, and thus cultivating his genius for military fortification, of which he left proofs in the Schedæ Sarpianæ. When he traversed the halls and galleries of the palace, the "Sala di Troja" could not fail to remind him of the pages of Homer. Throughout the five hundred apartments filled with every object that luxury could suggest, or riches could command, magnificence reigned supreme, as in all that the Duke of Mantua possessed. The "Sala di Marmo" was conspicuous to one whose practical eye was sensible of the antique statues that it contained. But these sculptures, once sentries between ancient and modern times, keep watch there no longer, they are gone, and the faded gold and azure of the "Sala de' Mori" now alone tell of departed grandeur. In the time of Fra Paolo the audience chamber was thronged, now the beautiful consoles look down but on stillness, the house of the Gonzagas of Mantua is no more! Nothing is left but their fading portraits on the walls of their deserted palaces! The piety and beauty of Julia di Gonzaga is storied in every heart to which goodness is dear, as well as the lettered pages of Lucretia di Gonzaga, but with these exceptions, all are well nigh forgotten, save the Duke Guglielmo, the friend of Fra Paolo Sarpi.

The Bishop of Mantua, Boldrino appreciated the piety and talents of Paolo, and appointed him "Reader of Theology and also of the Sacred Canons," he therefore officiated at the Cathedral, and beneath its roof taught the people for more than three years.

He solemnly renewed his vows at the age of twenty. He had many friends in Mantua; one deserving special mention was Camillo Olivo, Secretary of Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua and Papal Legate to the Council of Trent; but whose piety and learning did not shield him from persecution; of this affair the Friar thus writes.

"The Cardinal had given offence to Pius IV, who pronounced him 'unworthy of the Cap,' and sent the Bishop of Ventimiglia to be his secret minister in the Council, charged him to observe the Cardinal of Mantua above all the Legates, and also gave order that the dispatches to Trent, formerly addressed to him as prime Legate, should afterward be addressed to Simoneta.

"He removed from the congregation of Cardinals, who were to consult of the affairs of Trent, the Cardinal Gonzaga, and caused F. Borromeo to tell him that the Cardinal, his Uncle, did think to ruin the Apostolic See, but should effect nothing but the ruin of himself and of his

house. He related to the Cardinal S. Angelo, who was a great friend to Mantua, whatsoeyer had happened and shewed himself most cholérique against him and as much against Camillus Olivus, the Cardinal's secretary, as not having performed the promise he made unto him when he was sent to Rome, which cost the poore man very deare, for howsoever the Pope and Cardinal were reconciled, yet after his death, returning to Mantua with the corps of his master, he was imprisoned by the Inquisition upon divers pretences, and troubled a long time, whom after his persecutions were ended, I knew myself to be a person very vertuous, and that he had not deserved such misfortunes." <sup>1</sup>

" The chief reason that Fra Paolo took pleasure in the society of Olivo was, that he found him a man of singular moderation and learning. Having been with the Cardinal of Mantua at the Council of Trent, he had management of its affairs, knew all the particulars of its most secret negotiations, and had many memorials of them, to understand which gave Fra Paolo great satisfaction, because the Council had then but lately terminated, which had held Christendom in the highest state of expectation for a long series of years, especially men of judgment and rare intellect who were curious to know what had passed there." <sup>2</sup>

Doubtless the society of Fra Paolo beguiled the lonely hours of the wronged but not friendless Olivo, and justice, though tardy, was to be done to the honorable secretary by the pen of the illustrious Servite. Olivo could, and did, conduct Fra Paolo through many of the hidden labyrinths of the Council, which would have otherwise remained unexplored, and it is probable that Olivo was the first who implanted in Sarpi's mind the idea of writing an authentic chronicle of that Council, and that Olivo fixed on his retentive memory the knowledge of facts, the relation of which has conferred signal service on the world.

These particulars are given here, as they afford evidence that the materials for his History of the Council of Trent were really acquired by Fra Paolo at this early period of his life; while they refute the notions of some writers, who allege that it was written at a late period, and expressly for James I, King of Great Britain, and of others, who assert that Sarpi penned his work in revenge because he had not received preferment from the court of Rome.

Besides Olivo, Fra Paolo associated with Correggio, afterwards the Cardinal d'Ascoli, who as well as other men of letters, found him, not only learned, but equally skilled in all the sciences, as if he had made each of them alone his peculiar study. "Nature," writes his untiring eulo-

<sup>1</sup> His. of the Council of Trent.

<sup>2</sup> MS.

gist, "produces occasionally men of great genius in one particular science. There have been many such in past times; in our own, Vieta in algebra, and Gilbert in his speculations on the properties of the magnet. But Fra Paolo excelled them all." He had also examined astrology, and became convinced of its inutility, because "one can neither know nor shun the future." At a later period he refers to this subject in writing to M. Groslot.<sup>1</sup>

"But as for judicial astrology, one should speak of it with some Roman, as it is more in vogue in that court than in this city, where, although every other abuse is to be met with, this is not, because persons rise here by ordinary means. No man has expectations above his condition, or when he is of too great an age. In Rome, where one sees one attain the highest position who yesterday was as nothing, the art of divination is in great credit. But how miserable it is that a man should be desirous to know the future. For what end? To escape evil? Is it not labour in vain?

"When I was about twenty years of age, I took great pains in this foolish study, which, if there were any truth in it, ought to be studied in preference to all else. It is full of false and foolish principles, and so it is no wonder if the conclusions from such are the same; and he that would discourse of it theologically, I believe will find it condemned in the Holy Scriptures, Isaiah c. 7. And the reasons of St. Augustine against it are very good in his book *De Civitate Dei*, lib. 5, cap. 1, 3, and 4; *Confession*, cap. 3, 5; and 2 *Super Genesi*, ~~were~~ cap. 16 and 17.... There are few things I believe so firmly, as that I would not change my opinion on good grounds; but if there is anything I hold for certain, this is one, that judicial astrology is but mere vanity."

He would sometimes turn it into ridicule, and in this he was cordially seconded by the Duke, whose love of the burlesque suggested the following incident.

Although deformed in person, the Duke inherited the taste of his ancestors for horses, of which he had preserved a celebrated breed, on one of which Francis I, King of France, was mounted at the battle of Pavia, and as war horses they were also greatly esteemed by the Emperor Charles V. In the Castle of Ombria, there is an equestrian statue of Francis I, in full armour on one of these celebrated horses, as the monarch went out to the battle of Pavia. The fortunes of war were adverse; and when the King, no longer mounted on his splendid charger, entered the convent of the Certosa, by the breach made by the cannon into its church, the royal

prisoner took up the words of the choir which had just been chanted Ps. cxix, 70, and, kneeling before the great altar, ejaculated aloud,

“ Lord, it is good for me that I have been afflicted,  
That I might learn thy statutes. ”

It happened that a mule of one of this celebrated race of horses was about to be foaled, and the Duke requested Fra Paolo to observe the heavens during a whole night, especially at the moment of the birth of the foal. He did so, and having reduced his observations to writing, copies were sent to the most famous astrologers of Europe, with this notice, “ That at such a time there was an illegitimate birth in the house of the Duke of Mantua, ” and it long afforded amusement to this Prince to peruse the various answers which were returned to him; as some predicted that what in reality was a foal, would be a cardinal, or a military commander; would attain to a mitre, or even to the Popedom!

But there was no truth in the reports then prevalent, that Fra Paolo left the Court of Mantua because of this story of the foal; or that he feared banishment because a youth, who had been instigated by Codogno a Servite, had been justly imprisoned by that prince. Both of these reports were contradicted by Fra Paolo. The true cause of his leaving Mantua was, that a life at the Court of any Prince was totally at variance with his habits and tastes, and his friends were too importunate in their demands upon his time. The death of the good Bishop Boldrino also might have rendered his stay in Mantua undesirable, but Boldrino was taken to endless rest from a scene of disquiet, as every year added greater difficulties to those eager to tread the path of reform within the Church of Rome.

Fra Paolo looked down with a calm and settled philosophy on prejudice and all that opposed truth; he extracted useful knowledge from all phases of the human race with whom he was conversant, men of every grade and of divers climes. Moderation in all things was his scrupulous study; he did not believe in his own infallibility, or in the infallibility of another, but he learned as well as taught with great modesty, and loved to applaud rather than to detract. He knew by his own observation, as well as from his associates at Mantua, by what means the court of Rome had supported and continued to support its supremacy, and from this early period of his life down to the hour of his death, although a faithful member of the Church of Rome in its ancient usage, he was ever opposed to the high pretensions of its Court, and on various occasions at Milan, at Venice and at Rome, he resisted its dictates, when he conceived them to be contrary to the Holy Scriptures, to the Fathers, or to the Civil or the Canon law. It seemed strange to those who only sought their own ag-

grandizement, that a humble Friar should desire to leave the Court of Mantua, and the reports before mentioned were probably spread by such persons; but that Fra Paolo did leave Mantua, not only with the consent of the Duke but regretted by all, is certain. His was no transient fame. His blameless life, the splendor of his talents, and the faithful discharge of his duties at the Cathedral, were indelibly impressed on the people of Mantua, and they were often wont to say, " Non venira mai più un Fra Paolo! "

On his return to Venice, his old associates soon perceived how industriously he had been occupied, both before and after taking his degree as Bachelor, and that he was unchanged by the flattery of the great, the witty, or the lettered courtiers of the Duke of Mantua. But perhaps it may be supposed that his convent life now differed from what it had been formerly, and that he threw off restraint within the walls of his home, and lived unworthy of his former self. Far from it. Fra Fulgenzio expressly says, " Paolo added to his learning such integrity in his religious deportment that, although so young, he was venerated by all as the embodied idea of modesty, piety, and every Christian virtue. Some things may appear paradoxical, but as they are not only facts, but so well known to many living witnesses to their truth, he who questions them must wear a mask of effrontery, his tongue must be poisoned by falsehood, and his heart corrupted by malignity and passion." This is strong language, but Fulgenzio well knew the aspersions which had been cast on his friend and master, and he therefore continues. " Let the Friars tell, let these numerous witnesses declare if they ever heard F. Paolo swear or say an unbecoming word, or ever saw him angry, and this not only in youth, but when he was in the service of the Republic of Venice. It was marvellous that a youth, not above twenty two years of age, was not only versed in the learning common to those who dwell in convents, but that he was so profoundly skilled in science, besides humanity, logic, philosophy, and theology. He understood the Canon law perfectly, and had also a competent acquaintance with civil law, mathematics, as also medicine; he understood the nature of simples, herbs, minerals and their transmutations, and was conversant with various languages, besides Latin, Greek, Hebrew, and Chaldee. This erudition would have been extraordinary in mature age, but it received such additional lustre from the sanctity of his manners that the actual spring tide of his youth gave reason for still greater expectation, did God preserve his life to riper years. Truly the knowledge alone of all that human intellect can attain, however admirable it may be, does not impart perfection; even devils are known to possess great knowledge, but goodness utilizes knowledge; and piety, religion and virtue may be said to be the life of the body, and this varied knowledge of science, united with pro-

should

bity, made this young Friar so revered for his noble qualities, that, as is customary in Venice among the young nobles if any wearing an unsuitable habit, or conversing or acting unbecomingly were required to enter the presence of one of the Chief Senators, he would first assume a dress befitting the occasion, so in the Order of the Servi (for even the Friars, especially the young, are not always under rule or with their bows bent), on the appearance of Fra Paolo, all became composed, all scurrility and sport were set aside, as if his presence had been a censor's rod, so that it passed into a common saying, "Here comes la sposa, let us change our conversation." Such power had the presence of this man of known probity and purity of life over the manners of others, and yet he was so pleasing to all and so humble that I have not known any one who could say he had ever been heard to use a harsh word, unless in the discharge of his public duties, or even a gesture which implied rigor to others, although he was very severe upon himself." <sup>1</sup>

During Fra Paolo's residence at Mantua, Aretino had succeeded Zacheria as twenty third General of the Order of the Servi, and he had been replaced by Morello. Neither of these Generals had been able to effect any improvement in the Constitutions of the Servi, but the subject was still agitated, and Fra Paolo only waited a favorable opportunity to forward it, notwithstanding present opposition.

But, occupied as he was with the affairs of his own Order, he was still an attentive observer of the public affairs of Venetia. The boast of the Sultan was not an idle one, and the Servite saw the ill gotten island of Cyprus wrested from the Republic at the price of sixty thousand Turkish lives. But the victory of Lepanto again crushed the Ottoman navy, and delivered Venice from fear of invasion, filling the land with the melody of a free people chanting *Te Deum*, in place of the bitter wail of slaves groaning beneath the Moslem.

Fra Paolo was too valuable a coadjutor to be allowed any long respite in the privacy of his convent, and Milan was now destined to become for a time his place of residence. Milan, one of the most populous and opulent cities of Italy, enclosed at that time within its walls of ten miles circuit between two and three hundred thousand souls, and was adorned by upwards of one hundred churches, besides a vast number of monastic buildings. There, the memory of Saint Ambrose was then, as now, revered by all who, like Fra Paolo, regarded true worth; and his veneration for Saint Augustine is shewn by the respectful deference with which he always cites that great Father of the Church.

On one side of the Church of Saint Ambrose at Milan is the Chapel

<sup>1</sup> MS.

where Saint Augustine, won from error by the teaching of Saint Ambrose, received baptism at his hands; and it was also at Milan, according to tradition, that these two holy men were wont to sing together the noble anthem "*Te Deum laudamus*," of which Saint Ambrose is said to have been the composer.

The ritual of the Church of Milan differs from that of Rome except in the office of consecration, and when Gregory VII, in the 11th century attempted to impose celibacy on the Clergy, those of Milan strenuously opposed it as an "innovation," and even pronounced the Pope and his Court to be heretics, and as Arnulphi reports, they were only prevented from making a formal separation from the Romish Church by the arms of Estembald.<sup>1</sup> This innovation, unknown in the early ages of that Church, has however remained ever since, and produced evils of great magnitude. It was in fact only in the eleventh century that the authority of the Pope was established in Milan, and it was not till that period that the Archbishop received from Rome his Archiepiscopal pall. At the present period, A.D. 1575, the see of Milan was worthily filled by the Cardinal Archbishop Carlo Borromeo, who, bent on the thorough reformation of his diocese, summoned Fra Paolo (though fourteen years his junior), to aid him in that important work. Much against his will, Fra Paolo was commissioned not only to hear confession in other churches besides those of his own order, but in company with the other Counsellors of the Cardinal to give judgment in cases of conscience. He did not leave any written condemnation of it, but that he did not approve of being himself a confessor, may be gathered from the fact, that his name having been duly sought by a member of the Church of Rome, who was at great pains to ascertain the truth, the name of Fra Paolo Sarpi is not to be found amongst those who heard confession. The power exercised by the Jesuits by constant confession was strongly censured by him, and one thing is certain that his confessions were chiefly made to God. He trod a very thorny path, but every step of his ascent brought him nearer that heaven to which he climbed.

Borromeo had himself been created Cardinal and Archbishop by his uncle Pius IV, when under twenty years of age, and though he had been accustomed to live in splendor at Rome, and might have dreaded the displeasure of the Pontiff for whom he held the public and privy seal and acted as Grand Penitentiary and Legate of Bologna and Romagna, he at once dismissed eighty of his servants immediately after reform had been recommended by the Council of Trent, laid aside his robes of silk, fasted weekly, often daily, and subsequently renounced the coat of arms

<sup>1</sup> L. IV. c. 6, 9, 10.

which his noble family had long borne. As Protector of many religious Orders, the Cardinal had power to enquire into the abuses which had been a cause of scandal in some of these, but Fra Paolo knew that this inquiry had not been by all of them well received. While some had bowed to his decisions against malpractices, others had resented his interference, and Donato Farini of the Order of the Umiliati had carried his resentment so far, as actually to discharge the contents of his arquebuss at the Cardinal Archbishop, as he knelt at prayer in his own chapel. It did not pass unobserved, that at the moment this gross outrage was committed the words of the anthem, "Non turbatur cor vestrum neque formidet" had just been sung; but the Archbishop was almost unharmed. Swift justice overtook the culprit, though against the will of the good prelate, who besought the Pope to spare the Umiliati, and the whole Order was suppressed.

But this assault did not daunt the ardor of the Cardinal ~~who was~~<sup>indomitable</sup>, and when Fra Paolo went to Milan he found that he was enforcing stricter discipline than had been known for a long period. Borromeo also founded seminaries for youth, and deserves great credit as the originator of Sunday schools. He also contributed to the reformation of the music of the Church services, which had greatly degenerated, and the harmony of earth, better attuned to sacred words, now poured its strains on the delighted ear.

The papers of the literary Society published under the title of the "Noctes Vaticanæ" prove, that the Cardinal had a taste for literature, but the cares of his diocese when Fra Paolo was at Milan superseded all else. Imitating the Saints Augustine and Ambrose, Borromeo shared his meals with his clergy, and Fra Paolo was his bidden guest. Bread and water formed the chief part of his food and beverage, and it is not probable that his guest was supplied with more luxurious fare. The face of the Cardinal bore deep traces of austerity and self infliction, it was care-worn and attenuated; the eye was eager, the nose very sharp and prominent, the mouth full, large, and expressive of decision, but the whole countenance pourtrayed more fervor than sagacity. His manners were gentle, his humility unfeigned, sincere and upright, he pursued his plans with unwearyed energy, and at length effected a great apparent reformation at Milan.

But the Cardinal was more zealous of outward reform than Fra Paolo, not that the former was any less than the latter an example of holy living. He had in fact been regarded as a saint long before he was enrolled as such by canonization in the calendar of the Church of Rome, but while the Cardinal augmented the feasts and fasts of the Church, for example instituting as he afterwards did, "The procession of the holy nail of our

Lord," and endeavoring to prohibit the eating of meat on Sunday, Fra Paolo regarded these as nonessentials, and like the great and good Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, turned his thoughts rather to the important doctrine of faith in the blood of Christ, "a jewel which the Church kept half concealed," but equally true Cardinal de la Pole had said in writing to the Cardinal Contarini, "that Scripture taken in its profoundest connexion teaches nothing but this doctrine." The writings of Fra Paolo re echo this doctrine stated by Contarini in the treatise on justification. This work had considerable influence, indeed that is the supposed reason of its having been so changed and interpolated, that a copy of the original can scarcely be found; but the treatise stands out still in bold relief, a salutary lesson to the church of Rome and to all, and these words show that it is a mistake to allege that the above doctrine was, or is, totally lost to the Church of Rome.

" If the question," wrote the Cardinal Gaspar Contarini, " on which of these two kinds of righteousness we would rely, that inherent in us, or that imputed in Christ, a man of piety will reply, that he can trust alone to the latter. Our righteousness is only inchoate, incomplete, full of defects; the righteousness of Christ, on the other hand, is true, perfect, thoroughly and alone pleasing in the eyes of God: for its sake alone can we be justified before God." And these words also tell to all within the pale of the Church of Rome what was the sound belief of a Cardinal Legate of the sixteenth century, " a man much esteemed for his singular worth and learning," and that the doctrine which the Church of Rome held in her earliest age, that which the Saviour delivered to the Apostles, that which they and some of the Fathers, especially Saint Augustine, held, is that which her best informed and wisest members still hold, irrespective of the decrees of the Council of Trent. It should be borne in mind that the doctrine of " faith in Jesus Christ alone," is the common ground upon which all believers in Christ agree, or ought to agree, and then it will no longer appear singular that Sarpi corresponded with or welcomed to his cell, those who were, and those who were not, members of Rome's communion. He debarred no one from his society, and there can be no doubt but his mind became more expansive by intercourse with those who held opinions which the Jesuits only had banished in the last Council.

At Milan, Fra Paolo had opportunities of acquaintance with this widespread Order. The Confessor of the Cardinal Borromeo was one of the Jesuits; fourteen of them had been invited to Milan by the Cardinal, and they, as well as some others, were called "reformed priests." Like many of the faithful he had great expectations from them, but these issued in disappointment. At an early stage the acumen of Fra Paolo discerned that their novel doctrines were untenable, and their teaching subversive of

sound morality. Their great influence was gained by confession and eloquent sermons, for while the former overawed, the latter allured and fascinated the weak minded and unwary, who were easily seduced by men well trained in the art of bending the will to their purposes.

But it was not long before the services of Fra Paolo were required in his Convent at Venice as Reader of Philosophy; and his audience was composed, not only of the friars of his own Cloister, but of many secular Clergy. His lectures were distinguished by "clearness of method, lucid ideas, and profundity of thought."

When Fra Paolo left Milan, the angel of death had not yet stricken that devoted city, and the Cardinal Borromeo had not yet entered on his laudable work of self devotion, in tending with skill and tenderness all who were sinking beneath the noxious breath of the pestilence; but in the early dawn of the following year the plague stalked like a mighty giant through the fertile plains, the mountain heights, and the densely populated cities of Italy, and desolated that beautiful land. In Venice, Titian, with many other persons of note, fell beneath its power, and amid the general mortality Isabella Sarpi, the mother of Fra Paolo, was numbered with the dead.

It was in truth an era of long and deep anguish to Venetia, the land was filled with wailing, yet every effort for the restoration of health was as powerless as the voice of a pilot to still the rage of the storm. Seven hundred was the frightful amount of death from sunrise till sunset, and forty thousand was the total number of victims. But at length the course of the plague was arrested. The Doge and the Senate proposed that the mourning survivors should rear a church in honor of the Holy Redeemer. Two hundred deaths had been notified to the Senate on the day previous, but it is a well attested fact that on the day following that on which this pious offering was made, only four persons died of the plague.

The foundation of the Church S. S. Il Redentore was laid by the Doge and Patriarch, and "a solemn procession of the whole Clergy of the city,"<sup>1</sup> followed by the religious Orders; and if ever a human heart was stirred to its depths, it must have been that of Fra Paolo, when he and the prostrate and stricken assembly, amid stifled sobs, suppressed groans, and bitter tears, knelt to crave one look, one tender look of sympathy and regard from heaven.

On the following year this Church, the masterpiece of Palladio, rose in all its fair beauty and perfect symmetry. It stands on the Island of the Giudecca, and its fine dome is well seen from the opposite shore beyond the Piazzetta of S. Marco. There is comparatively little change in this structure,

<sup>1</sup> Sansovino. *Del Sistieri di Dorsa Duro*, lib. 6, continued by Martinioni.

its fine features have crested the waves of time. May every eye that rests on it rise, as did the eye of Fra Paolo, in profound adoration to the most Holy Redeemer! It is impossible to tread its nave of vast but simple grandeur untouched by the memory of the succour lent by Heaven to Venetia in the hour of her woe. How often on his way to the Ducal palace in after years did Fra Paolo view with emotion this votive fane! How would his love of architecture admire its unrivalled proportions! and how higher far would his thoughts ascend, when turned to sadness by the scene before him, they would naturally flow towards the fond mother who had taught him his first lessons of holy wisdom, gentleness, and humility, now laid cold as the marbles which adorn the Church of the Redeemer!

About this time Fra Paolo heard with sorrow of the League against the Reformed. The Pope was about to send his troops against men who had done nothing to provoke such treatment. Far other were the thoughts of Fra Paolo, he bridged over all differences between them and the Church of Rome, and discovered points of union where lesser spirits only found cause of cavil or persecution, he judged the difference of both parties to be exaggerated. He knew that several doctrines of the Church had been utterly lost sight of, or not even discussed by the last Council, and he never suffered any difference of opinion to dull the brightness of friendship. He had many learned friends amongst the Reformed, and his expressions of esteem for them were unfeigned. The affairs of Rome also occupied his attention; Gregory XIII had conferred the title of Grand Duke on Cosmo di Medici, which gave great umbrage to enlightened politicians; and men of religion asked, "What right had an ecclesiastic to confer such a dignity?"

But tidings from more distant climes were satisfactory, the Sultan was on good terms with the Republic, the power of Spain decreased in the Low Countries, and the Prince of Orange was well established in his kingdom, and weary of the tyranny of Spain, Italy showed strong symptoms of rebellion.

Venice, though she had suffered much by fire and famine, war and pestilence, was now delivered from these ills; her beautiful port was crowded with galleys, and her active commerce again flourished, it was lessened, but still vigorous. Those who have trod her broad quays, seen the lustre of an evening sun light up the crafts that now enter her port, can picture to themselves what the scene was when fleets of galleys and hundreds of merchantmen rode at ease in that safe harbour, when the gondolas shone in all the magnificence with which they were then adorned. No stronger contrast can be conceived, than the noise and bustle of the harbour of Venice and the stillness of the Convent of the Servi. Far from the place of mart or festivity, it retains even now, in all its ruin, the stamp of deep

solemnity; its site however is not gloomy, nor in those days was one of its inhabitants. It was not only the fame of Fra Paolo's acquirements which drew the learned to his cell, but also his cheerful conversation; and foreign travellers openly said, that they "had no other object in visiting Venice than to see Fra Paolo." Many of these carried Albums, and when requested to write in these, he wrote either some wise precepts from an ancient author or ~~thus~~, from the Holy Scriptures."<sup>1</sup> From intercourse with well informed persons he had early tidings of passing events, a great boon at a time when communication was neither rapid nor certain between any countries. His interest in the Gallican Church was uniform, although he did not think its liberties perfect by any means, still he thought them very preferable to the liberty enjoyed by the Church of Rome in Italy.

It was during this year that he made the acquaintance of M. de Ferrier<sup>2</sup> who again came to Venice from Paris on an embassy from Henry II to obtain a loan of money, and to announce peace between the Papists and the Reformed. This bold assertion of the rights and liberties of the Gallican Church gave umbrage to some of the Italian Clergy present at the Council of Trent, where this liberal and high minded Frenchman had not hesitated to ask the Fathers of the Council to follow the example of Josiah, by causing the Book of the Law to be read which he said "had been concealed by the malice of men." He had also demanded the restoration of many ancient usages, that the cup in the Holy Sacrament should be administered to the people, prayers and catechisms taught, and the Psalms sung in the French language, he had also petitioned against pluralities, and had demanded a proper definition of the doctrines of images, reliques, and indulgences, with all the eloquence that charmed the parliament. He had pressed these claims and maintained their justice by quotations from the Holy Scriptures, and from the writings of Saint Augustine, Saint Ambrose, and Saint Chrysostom, but all in vain. These sentiments, however, with the mature experience and unblemished integrity of de Ferrier, made him esteemed by Fra Paolo. Equally distinguished by his diplomacy as by his knowledge of law, de Ferrier, although a lover of antiquity, was still a lover of reform. He knew in what odour France held the Inquisition, and how the far sighted Chancellors Seghier and l'Hôpital had prevented its introduction into France, and was therefore well able to dilate to him on the wrongs done to France at the Council of Trent. He had looked for reformation, not for confirmation of dogmas which had been the additions of Popes or of former, but not general, Councils; but

<sup>1</sup> MS.

<sup>2</sup> Henriade p. 19.

the French ambassador, like many others in Italy, had been disappointed. It is no difficult matter to picture Sarpi and M. de Ferrier in close converse in the Convent of the Servi on the affairs of the Council, when the memory of Paolo eagerly stored up what de Ferrier related, in order to incorporate in his history of the Council a relation of those facts to which no one but M. de Ferrier, on the part of his royal Master, could be privy. Among the other friends of Fra Paolo at this time, the noble du Plessis Mornay may be mentioned, his piety and learning were valued by him, as well as his wisdom in the Cabinet.<sup>1</sup>

But to proceed. The Pontiff, who had high views of the Papal power, still gave annoyance to the Republic of Venice. Rome was gradually climbing towards that height which she attempted to hold in the seventeenth century, when, counselled by Fra Paolo, Venice resisted her demands.

The death of Maximilian made no change in the aspect of public affairs, as his son continued friendly to Venetia.

On the fourth of June A.D. 1577 the Doge Morenigo died, and was buried with great pomp in the Church of S. Giovanni and S. Paolo, where also are the remains of Brigandino, who, being betrayed by the Turks after the siege of Famagosta, suffered the terrible death of being flayed alive rather than deny the name of Christ, his Redeemer. As a trophy, his skin was preserved by his brutal enemies, but subsequently obtained at great cost after the battle of Lepanto and taken to this place of rest. Little had the Turks reflected, when they suspended this trophy to the bow-sprit of one of their galleys, that they were only extending the fame of him they had murdered, and proclaiming the power of a deathless principle, the religion of Christ in the soul of the noble Brigandino, that same principle which enabled Fra Paolo so often to face death without terror. These sentiments were shared by Sebastiano Veniero, the veteran victor of Lepanto, who was now elected to the dignity of Doge with great unanimity. His election supplied Pope Gregory with an occasion to propitiate the Republic, and he therefore sent a gold rose to the Dogeressa. But as it was the custom of the Popes to send the rose to such courts only as gave strict allegiance to the Papacy, the Republic of Venice resented this distinction respecting the gift as a reflection on her independence, and although the Dogeressa retained the emblem of silence, the displeasure of the Venetians slowly mouldered, like the fire which shortly after consumed the Doge's palace, only to burst forth in greater volume. This is no figure of speech, the olden palace, which occupied the same site as that which now claims the attention of the curious, was a building of which the Venetians were justly proud; it was nearly all burned to the ground. "The Hall of the Grand Council, that of the Senate and that of the Scrutiny suf-

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fered,"<sup>1</sup> and it was not till the flames reached the celebrated picture, *Il Paradiso*, the largest oil painting in the world, that the fire yielded to human efforts for its extinction. And great were these efforts, for which 1,500 ducats were voted to the workmen of the arsenal, who had perilled their lives to extinguish the flames; but they were true Venetians, men whose services were always prompt at the call of their country, were neither selfish nor venal, and they refused to touch the proffered gift. The palace could be, and was rebuilt, that palace in which Fra Paolo was so often to give counsel, but who could repaint the pictures of Bellini, of Paul Veronese, Tintoretto, or of Pardenone?<sup>2</sup> Many of the portraits of the Doges painted by Titian perished, and the catalogue of upwards of one hundred pictures burned in that fatal fire, forms a dark page in the "Venetia Descritta" of Sansovino. Amongst them were the portraits of personages familiar to every reader of Venetian history; many of them are mentioned by Sarpi, who saw the palace rise like a phoenix from its ashes more beautiful than ever; but a year had not elapsed when its occupant the Doge died, leaving a name that will go down to the latest posterity.

This Doge, Sebastiano Veniero, was succeeded by Nicolo da Ponte, and Fra Paolo had the satisfaction to see a man of learning and science hold the chief office in the State. During the first year of his government, Paruta was named Historiographer, but each succeeding historian, had he chronicled the bare facts of the case, could only have told "that the influence of the King of Spain throughout Italy was on the increase." To this may be traced the decay both of Venice and of all Italy.<sup>3</sup> So said Sarpi: some have condemned his dislike to the influence of Spain, but if such persons would consider that her monarchs curbed the liberty of Italy, that they fostered bigotry and superstition, and upheld the power of the Inquisition in spiritual matters, not only by encouragement of the papal prohibitions on books, but by many other taxes, restrictions, and vexations, would they not rather pity than blame the man who could not, even in thought, bow beneath impending tyranny? Two strove for the mastery, Philip of Spain and the Pope, as to who should "be absolute sovereign of all Italy;" Fra Paolo Sarpi was afraid of both, Was he wrong?

The writer must now claim the indulgent attention of the reader to some account of Fra Paolo's studies, prefaced as it necessarily is with the reasons for not citing from the Friars manuscripts in this instance. Many of the MSS. of Sarpi remained at the Convent of the Servi, and they were all collected and arranged in the year 1740, by Fra Josepho Bergantino, who to the gifts of genius and a critical knowledge of Vene-

<sup>1</sup> Calendar. Rawdon Brown.

<sup>2</sup> Sismondi.

tian antiquity added urbanity of manners, and his veneration for the memory of Sarpi, which was also shown by his work "F. Paolo Giustificato," made him well fitted for his task. Besides a large volume entitled the "Schedæ Sarpianæ," there were five small volumes bearing this title, "Pauli Sarpi collectanea quot quot domi forisque inveniri potuerunt ab H. Josepho Berganteno H. C. A. in unum congesta 1740."

All these perished in the fire which consumed the Library of the Servi in the year 1769.<sup>1</sup> But as Foscarini and Griselini had personally examined these MSS. the reader is not left without their observations on these curious writings; both were of opinion that Paolo Sarpi had entered on his wide field of research in the years in which he taught philosophy in his Convent. This opinion was founded on their perusal of the "Pensieri," a MS. of two hundred pages much worn and damaged, which consisted of seven hundred thoughts on natural philosophy, metaphysics, and mathematics, nearly all of which bore the date of 1578; and both Foscarini and Griselini bear witness to their being "the marrow of scholastic doctrine," and "the type of more modern systems."

After noticing the high aim which Fra Paolo took in known science, how he had extracted as well as analysed the essence of natural philosophy, and shewed that he had embraced all that men of the greatest genius of the past and present century knew of the elements and nature of bodies both terrestrial and celestial, their generation, properties and qualities, how he had successfully unfolded all that relates to the nutrition of life, and of vegetable and animal matter, Griselini observes, "What may be said of his thoughts on philosophy, may be equally affirmed of those on mathematics, which not only belong to pure geometry, but to synthesis, analysis, the conic sections, mechanics, statistics, hydrostatics, hydraulics, hydrography, aeromatria, pneumatics, optics, dioptrics, catoptrics, geocatoptrics, catadioptrics, the sphere, astronomy, acoustics, and civil and military architecture," and Griselini adds, "that these Pensieri not only showed that Fra Paolo was versant in the works of Euclid, Archimedes, and Apollonius of Perga, but in those of Vitellio, Alhazen, the Arabian Mathematician and Optician of the 12th century, and with the works of his contemporaries Ubaldo, Marquis del Monte, a renowned writer on mechanics of the 16th century, and other philosophers and mathematicians of note, precursors of the great Galileo."

There was a translation of the work of this Oriental in the Latin language in the library of the Servi, Venice, prior to its destruction. "Opticæ Thesavrvs Alhazeni Arabis, libri septem nunc primum Editi Eivsdem liber de Crepvscvlis et Nubium ascencionibus. Item Vitellonis

<sup>1</sup> Appendix.

Thuringopoloni Libri X, omnes instaurati, figuris illustrati et aucti, adiectis etiam in Alhazenum commentarijs a Federigo Resnero." On the margin of this volume, especially in the second book, there were many notes in the handwriting of Fra Paolo.

Fra Paolo shewed that a solid immersed and saturated in water cannot acquire more gravity than it has by nature, because water in water, not having gravity cannot give to the solid either more or less gravity.<sup>1</sup> Such is nearly the doctrine of Galileo. Again, touching the velocity which accelerates the fall of a heavy body attached to a cord or pendant thread, his reasoning is similar to that adopted by the Florentine philosopher in his Dialogues.<sup>2</sup> Sarpi shows that "an igneous vapor arising from the water does not ascend quicker because the vapor is lighter than the air, but because it is forced upwards by the water which compresses it," and he further remarks that "a body which weighs in the air double that of the water, will descend in it in the same degree as the air ascends." So Galileo asserts that "the gravity of a solid, greater or less than that of the water, is the true and proper sense of its sinking or not." On comparison of the ideas of the author of a method of Indivisibility with that of the "Pensieri," the same argument occurs as to the effect of mirrors whose concavity is generated by a parabolical line; there is also similarity between the "Pensieri" and the Lunar Astronomy of Kepler, as also Gregory in his Comparative Astronomy. On dioptrics, Fra Paolo observes, "I have made many experiments in this particular with looking glasses, spherical and concave, convex and plane and having observed the effects produced by the rays of the sun, and by the brightness of the moon and stars reflected on the water, the reflection of the same will determine their place and distance. At different times the experiments were according to my method of reasoning, but at other times, I found I was quite contradicted, which is one argument for the belief that in many cases the broken and divergent rays which meet our eyes converge, or are as if convergent." The "Pensieri" also contained thoughts on Anatomy, although there is presumptive proof that these threw considerable light on that science, it is more probable that Fra Paolo's discoveries of the valves in the veins, and the dilatation of the uvea of the eye were made during 1582-5 when for three years he made Anatomy a principal study.

The nomination of a friend of Sarpi to the Readership of the Ducal Chancery must not be omitted. Aldus Manutius was one of a family held in veneration by every lover of classical literature. The Aldine, or Italic character perpetuates the name of Aldus the elder, as well as his edition of the Clas-

<sup>1</sup> Pensieri MS. Sarpi. N° 18, 588.

<sup>2</sup> Opere di Galileo. Tom. 1, 216.

sics, but the studies of Aldus, the younger, of the libraries of Venice as well as its stones, marbles and antiquities, and his arduous comparisons of their inscriptions with upwards of 1,500 Roman inscriptions in order to establish a correct orthography of the ancient Latin, were more than sufficient to arrest the attention of Sarpi, and to make him seek the society of Aldus Manutius, who was at a later period librarian of the Vatican, nor could he forget to whom he owed his knowledge of the ancient Roman Calendar.

Fra Paolo was no stranger within the University of Padua, which was regarded with peculiar favor by the Republic of Venice. Let the reader view the modest Friar as he passes beneath the winged lion which adorns its gates, and enters the College where he had so often listened to its learned professors, now to receive a degree at their hands. The place where Livy once dwelt, reflected honor on itself by giving honor to Sarpi, and centuries after the Servite had received his degree, his countrymen could point to the Matricular of that great University, and tell that there was inscribed a name of which even Padua is proud. On his return from Padua, public affairs could not fail to interest Fra Paolo, because the independence of his country was dear to him, and the rich vein of liberty runs through his works. What then must he have thought of the King of Spain making a hasty peace with the Netherlands that he might possess the Kingdom of Portugal? A like usurpation might await Venetia, and Paolo gave good reasons for this supposition long before the plot of Ossuna. The occupation by the Pope of parts of the lands of the Romagna was a cause of great discontent and bloodshed, nevertheless Venice was still secure.

Fra Paolo Sarpi took priest's orders when he was twenty seven years of age, and afterwards passed much of his time in strict retirement, and in acts of piety and meditation.

For some years subsequently he did not take wine, animal food did not accord with his constitution, and his principal nourishment was bread and fruit, his beverage water. The Servi partook of both animal food and wine, but Fra Paolo's abstemiousness was only on account of his health. He was very thin in body, having grave disorders of the liver, which caused great weakness and pain, but he was not accustomed to relax either his habits of devotion or study, and thought it a mistake, except in cases of extremity, when an invalid deviated from his usual rule of life. When he was about thirty years of age he was obliged to take wine, and he was often heard to say that nothing had ever cost him so much as in this to follow the advice of his physicians. "He always preserved the strictest discipline over himself, and he could so command his affections, that if his judgment was contrary to them, they could not move him. No dainty

could excite his appetite if hurtful, and he took medicine as if it was good food when he believed it to be beneficial. Such were his infirmities of body that he never could be persuaded that his life would be prolonged for a year, he thought each day might be his last, and said he never remembered to have felt so as if he could live a year. To this may be attributed the great progress which he made in his studies, in which he was so engrossed that few days passed in which they did not occupy him eight hours, but he had no intention of publishing any work till obliged to do so for the public good. He was not resolute in action, but rather appeared cold and reserved, for he who has little hope of long life seldom applies himself to actions of great consequence. <sup>1</sup>

Since the institution of the Order of the Servi, Fra Paolo was the only member who had been appointed Provincial at the early age of twenty seven, but with the unanimous applause of the Chapter held at Verona, he was now chosen to fill that office, which was one of trust, and required not only temper and discretion, but ability to govern. The Provincial had supervision of all the Convents of his Order within his province, he had a voice in the provincial Chapters with power to elect ad interim the officials of the Convent: he had the power if he pleased to transfer any friar from one Convent to another, to reprove, correct, or even imprison him, but the sentence was to be remitted for approval to the General. He might inhabit any Convent he chose, travel at the common expense and receive some emolument from all. Except in the case of insult or personal provocation he was exempt from all reproof, took precedence of all friars of inferior grade, appointed a lay brother to be his servant, and was free of all public duty.

Such was the office to which Fra Paolo was elected in the city of Verona, justly termed " il Nobile." It was of interest to a classical scholar, such as Sarpi, from being the birth place of the magnanimous conqueror Emilius, of Cornelius Nepos, of the poets Emilius Macer and Catillus, of Pliny the Elder, the great Titus Vespasian, and of the cruel Domitian. Some Latin authors pronounce Verona to have been a city of the Cenomani, but Pliny places its site in Rhoetia. It was one of the twelve cities of Etruria, and is said to have taken its name from the illustrious family of the Vera. Its ancient amphitheatre, its fortifications, its remains of an ancient Naumachia, all would occupy the attention of Fra Paolo, and to this student of architecture Verona afforded many objects on which his eye would linger with just appreciation. From his Convent there, his abode of peace, he could look down on the plains where Caius Marius met and defeated the Cimbri, and where Odoacer met the same fate

<sup>1</sup> MS.

at the hands of Theodoric King of the Goths, but could Fra Paolo imagine as he trod the Cathedral where the Lords of the Scala lie entombed, that his fame would be spread by the learned Scaliger, who boasted descent from these ancient governors of Verona?

Great reform had been effected in the discipline of the churches there by Bishop Giberti, and Fra Paolo valued such. The portrait of this exemplary Prelate must have been familiar to him during his intercourse with Cardinal Borromeo at Milan, as it was the pendant, silent, but chosen monitor of the Cardinal, who endeavored to imitate the example of one, who was a successful and venerated leader in the cause of reform within the Church of Rome.

On his return from Verona, Fra Paolo taught Theology at Venice, and discharged his duties as Provincial with piety and integrity. He was proof against bribes, refused the smallest gift if offered as such, and in no instance were his judgments revoked even by the Cardinal San Severina. "Partiality and division were banished from the Order during his government, and none complained but those who presumed more on his friendship than upon their merit, thus in this, his first essay in government, the germ of his future excellence in administration was apparent as well as his great prudence in negotiation, so that in all the innumerable affairs which passed through his hands, none were so involved but that he could unravel them, or else they were wholly inextricable. Persons of all conditions placed such confidence in his judgment that they believed he, if any one, could extricate them from difficulty. Though apparently inclined to severity and rigorous measures he was not so; he was naturally so kind and tender that in mature age he was not only compassionate to man but to animals, he could not bear to see them ill treated, and if it had been necessary for him to kill an animal for his own food, he would rather have suffered abstinence." <sup>1</sup> Such are the minute particulars given to us, of the Friar whom those of the Court of Rome call "Terrible." Great differences still existed amongst the Servi, but Fra Paolo endeavored to quell dissension; he loved justice but blamed too great lenity in punishment, especially as administered at Venice, and deemed it a cause of excess; yet he leaned to mercy rather than to severity in the administration of his government as Provincial.

In a general Chapter of the Order, convoked at Parma by the Prior General Tavanti, according to custom the learned Servi held disputations on Theology and Philosophy, Fra Paolo taking part in the discussion and sermons; his auditors were unbounded in their applause, amongst whom

<sup>1</sup> MS.

was Ottavio, the Ducal member of the house of Farnese. "In consequence of many statutes enacted by the Pontiffs with regard to the Regulars, especially at the Council of Trent, as to the reform of all the religious Orders, it was now judged necessary by the Chapter to send a deputation to Rome, and it was determined to make choice of three of the wisest and most prudent who understood the art of government." One of these was Padre Paolo,<sup>1</sup> a youth in comparison of the hoary hairs of his colleagues. He had a greater knowledge than his companions of canonical and civil jurisprudence and the decrees of Councils; therefore the care of these devolved upon him, and his decisions were made with such brevity, clearness, and depth of reasoning, that many of the greatest jurists averred that they were made by one who had spent all his life in the study of the law. This affords strong proof against those who affirm that the profoundly scientific are unfit to govern, an error as gross as pernicious, and utterly confuted by the after life of Sarpi. "<sup>2</sup>

In the month of June A.D. 1579, Fra Paolo Sarpi, Alessandro di Scandia-vo, and Socius, accompanied by Antonio di Borgo Procurator of the Servi, entered the ancient city of the Cæsars; there, they were to await the mandate of the Pope, of the Protector the Cardinal Farnese, of the Vice Pro-tector the Cardinal San Severina, and the General Tavanti, whose name is enrolled amongst the celebrated Servites of the University of Florence. "Dirige gressus meos," was Tavanti's motto and also his rule. His whole energies were given to the reformation of his Order, and though forty protested, the General assisted by Paolo carried his measures, and by him Fra Paolo was introduced for the first time at the Court of Rome, and had full opportunity of judging of its merits and demerits, as well as of its Pontiff, who although by no means on the best terms with Venice, ap-preciated the talents of the Venetian friar, and there is no record of the denial of any request which Fra Paolo made to him.

Gregory XIII was a learned Canonist and also well versed in civil law, of strict life, but under the rule of the Theatines and Jesuits to whom he gave large sums of money; he was indefatigable in establishing the latter Order throughout Europe. To all he deemed "heretics" he was uncompromising, and he permitted the Cardinal San Severina to exercise the office of Inquisitor with great rigor. It was an ordeal of no common kind for Fra Paolo to transact business with San Severina, who, though a man of ability, was of harsh and austere temper and strong will, but the judg-ments of Fra Paolo were never reversed at Rome, and when redress was

<sup>1</sup> After this period Fulgenzio designates Sarpi, Padre or Father, but he disliked to be called by any other name than Fra Paolo.

<sup>2</sup> MS.

asked of the Cardinal, he answered, "I will do as much as I can from favor, but nothing as matter of justice, because the judgments of your Provincial do not admit of a question." And when Fra Paolo was requested by San Severina to show indulgence to those whom he favored, he candidly replied "he could not, because justice had no respect of persons."

The reconstruction of the old constitutions and amendment of the new was a difficult task, but Fra Paolo accomplished it in four months. During his stay at Rome he attracted the attention of the Cardinal Farnese, who was of very different bearing to San Severina, and whose suavity of manners and learning, ample board and open purse obtained for him many companions amongst men of letters; the poor, the wretched, the widow and the orphan, even the outcasts of Palestine, found a friend in Farnese. He had been disappointed in them, but at one time he had supported the Jesuits. In A.D. 1568 he laid the foundation of their Church at Rome, and when Fra Paolo visited that city ~~in~~ A.D. 1579, they held a position which but for Paul III and the favor of Farnese they would not so easily have attained. During his stay at Rome at this time, Fra Paolo conducted himself with great prudence, not only in the discharge of his duties, but in his social intercourse, indeed he seems to have had no difficulty in that respect being always of a serious rather than a jovial turn of mind, and yet it must have been sometimes irksome to him, for he had a keen sense of the ridiculous, was fond of pleasant and witty remarks, and when occasion required, like his countrymen, eloquent. "I have seen many Venetians" said Clement XIV, "but I never knew one who was not eloquent."

And here it is worthy of notice, that after the framing of the new constitutions which were confirmed by the Pope, the *Salve Regina* was no longer recited by the Order of the Servi at Venice, a fact which shews that Fra Paolo did not recognize this undue worship of the Virgin as commanded, A.D. 1233.<sup>1</sup> The Jesuits were specially distinguished for their devotion to the Virgin, and gained by the continued exercise of this innovation many votaries chiefly amongst the softer sex, and there is no greater proof of his piety, talents and love of ancient usage, than that Fra Paolo and his colleagues were able to carry out a measure so strongly opposed to the Jesuits and other innovators as the non-recital of the *Salve Regina*. He knew well from what quarter change and innovation had come, and gentle as he appeared, he was not one to bend to either without remonstrance. His whole works testify the strong resistance he made against both, and it was and is a subject worthy the contemplation of his countrymen that he availed himself of the first opportunity afforded him, to

<sup>1</sup> *Annal. Servorum.* lib. I, cap. I, II, and XIV.

obtain leave of the Pope to omit the recital of the *Salve Regina*, after the Mass, by his Order at Venice.

“ *Salve Regina, mater misericordiæ vita, dulcedo, et spes nostra salve. Ad te clamamus exules filii Hevæ. Ad te suspiramus gementes et flentes in hac lacrymarum valle. Eja ergo advocâta nostra, illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte. Et Jesum benedictum fructum ventris tui, nobis post hoc exilium ostende. O clemens, O pia, O dulcis Virgo Maria* ” <sup>1</sup>

Fra Paolo knew that the *Salve Regina* was first said or sung A.D. 1238,<sup>2</sup> and he was neither afraid to omit its recitation, or to leave in writing valuable instruction as to the time of the introduction and progress of the worship of the Virgin.

For sixty years the *Salve Regina* was not recited by the *Servi* at Venice. This is specially noticed by Griselini,<sup>3</sup> and further information concerning this will be found in the *Annals* and *Constitutions* of the Order.

The writer made a strict investigation into the matter, and has not found any trace of worship as if she were “ divine or immaculate ” given by Fra Paolo to the Virgin Mary. He expressed “ that we Venetians have great veneration for the Blessed Virgin Mary, ” but there is no passage in his writings which authorizes the worship now paid to her. It is one thing to venerate, it is another to worship, and Fra Paolo knew that Deity alone claims that worship, and that undue veneration leads, at least amongst the unlearned and uneducated, to worship.

His account of the origin of this worship is of great importance from the pen of one so learned as Fra Paolo, we pass over the Cardinal Pallavicini’s remarks on Paolo’s opinions on this subject.<sup>4</sup> He was a Jesuit, and therefore he believed himself obliged to uphold the worship of the Virgin to the extent which he did; but that worship is an innovation which many in the Church of Rome would be glad to forego, and to give, as did Fra Paolo, all honor to the Deity, did they know as did he its origin.

“ After that the impietie of Nestorius had divided Christ making two sonnes, and denying him to be God who was born of the blessed Virgin, the Church, to inculcate the Catholike truth in the mindes of the faithfull, made often mention of her in the Churches, as well of the East, as of the West, with this shorte forme of wordes, in Greeke *Maria Θεοροκος*, in Latin, *Maria mater Dei*. This being instituted only for the honour of Christ, was by little and little communicated also to the Mother, and finally applyed to her alone, and therefore, when images began to multi-

<sup>1</sup> “ *Officium B. M. V.* ”

<sup>2</sup> *Annal. Baronius* and *Raynaldus*.

<sup>3</sup> *Griselini, lib. i, p. 70. Foscarini, lib. iii, p. 307.*

<sup>4</sup> *Pallavicini Con. di Trento, and the Latin Ediz. Marciana.*

plie, Christ was painted as a babe in his Mother's armes, to put us in mind of the worship due unto him even in that age. But in progresse of time, it was turned into the worship of the Mother, without the Sonne, *he remayning as an Appendix in the picture.* The writers and preachers, especially those that were contemplatiue, carried with the torrent of the vulgar, which is able to doe much in these matters, leaving to mention Christ inuented with one accord new prayses, Epithetes, and religious services, in so much, that about the year A.D. 1050 a dayly Office was instituted to the blessed Virgin, distinguished by seven canonical houres, in a forme which anciellty was ever, used to the Divine maiestie, and in the next hundred yeares, the worship so increased, that it came to ~~the~~ height even to attribute that unto her which the Scriptures speak of the Divine wisdome. And amongst these invented nouities,<sup>1</sup> this was one, her totall exemption from originall sinne. Yet this remayned onely in the breasts of some few private men, having no place in Eccleseasticall ceremonies, or *amongst the learned.* About the yeare A.D. 1136, the Canons of Lions dared to bring it into the Ecclesiastical Offices. Saint Bernard who lived in these times, esteemed the most learned and pious of that age, who was most frequent in the prayses of the Blessed Virgin, so as to call her the necke of the Church, by which every grace and influence passeth from the Head, inueighed severely against the Canons, and wrote unto them, reprehending them for introducing a dangerous nouitie without reason, or example of antiquitie; that there want not places to praise the Virgin, who cannot be pleased with a presumptuous nouitie, mother of rashuess, sister of superstition, daughter of lightuesse. The next age had Schoole Doctors of both the Orders, Franciscan and Dominican, who in their writings refuted this opinion, until about the yeare A.D. 1300, when John Scot, a Franciscan, putting the matter into disputation, and examining the reasons, did flie to the Onnipotencie, saying that God had power to free her from sinne, or to cause sinne to remaine in her onely for an instant, or for a certaine time; that God only knoweth which of these three is true, yet it is probable to attribute the first to Mary, in case it bee not repugnant to the authoritie of the Church and of the Scripture.

" The doctrine of this famous divine was followed by the Franciscan Order. But in the particular of the conception, seeing the way ~~layd~~ open, they affirmed absolutely for true, that which he had proposed as possible and probable, under this doubtful condition, *if it bee not repugnant to the orthodoxe faith.*

<sup>1</sup> Novelties.

*fourth*  
 " The Dominicans did constantly resist, and followed Saint Thomas one of their Order, famous for his learning and for the approbation of Pope John the two and twentieth, who to depresso the Franciscans, who did for the most part adhere to the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria, excommunicated by him, did canonize that Doctour and his doctrine. The shew of pietie and devotion made the Franciscan opinion generally more accepted, and more tenaciously received by the Universitie of Paris, which was in credite for eminent learning, and after long ventilation and discussion; was afterwards approved by the Councell of *Basill*, which forbade to teach and preach the contrarie. This tooke place in those Countreys which received the Councell. Finally Pope *Sixtus IV*, a Franciscan, made two Bulles in this matter, one, in the yeare one thousand four hundred seventie sixe, approving a new office, composed by *Leonard Nogarola*, *Protonotarie* with indulgences to him that did celebrate it, or assist; the other, in the yeare one thousand four hundred eightie three, condemning the assertion as false and erronious, that it is heresie to hold the conception, or a sinne to celebrate it, excommunicating the preachers and others who noted that opinion of heresie or the contrarie, because, it was not as yet decided by the Church of Rome and the Apostolike see.

" The Franciscans and Domenicans continued to contest the matter every yeare in December and were not quieted by letters sent to them by *Leo X*. The Dominicans grounded themselves upon the Scripture, the doctrine of the Fathers and the most ancient schoolemen, where not one iot was found in favour of the others, but they alleaged for themselves miracles and contentment of the people.

" The Papal Legate at Trent wrote to Rome as to the above contention, and lest it produced schism, and to obey the Pope the constitutions of *Sixtus IV* were to be observed." <sup>1</sup>

In *Paolo*'s time, the blessed Virgin being immaculate was an open question, and justly deemed a novelty, it is not so now, *Pius IX* has made it an act of faith. *Fra Paolo* warned all against new acts of faith.

The recitation of the *Salve Regina* was restored by *Urban VIII* when *Fra Paolo* was no more, when the voice which had been raised against innovation was silent, and could no longer either protest against it, or solicit the Pope to pause ere he restored the *Salve Regina*, the recitation of which had been withdrawn by one of his predecessors *Gregory XIII*.

<sup>1</sup> His. Councell of Trent. *Sarpi*, lib. II, p. 161, etc. MS. *Historia del Concilio Tridentini del Sarpi* p. 128.

## CHAPTER IV.

A.D. 1580 — A.D. 1588.

DODGES OF VENICE. Niccolò da Ponte 1585. Pasquale Cicogna.

SOVEREIGNS OF GERMANY. Rodolph II.

ENGLAND. Elizabeth. 1563. James I of Great Britain.

SCOTLAND. Mary.

FRANCE. Henry III.

SPAIN. Philip II.

TURKEY. Amurath III.

POPES.

Gregory XIII. 1585 Sixtus V.

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Fra Paolo returns to Venice. — The Crusca. — Fra Paolo's discoveries in anatomy. — F. Paolo at Rome. — Decretals. — Death of Capella and of Gregory XIII. — Sixtus V. — Fra Paolo chosen Procurator General. — Goes to Rome. — Bobadilla. — Jesuits. — Fra Paolo returns to Venice. — Gabriello. — The Morosini. — The Nave d'Oro. — Fra Paolo visits Padua and Pinelli, pleads for Fra Giulio at Rome.

When Fra Paolo returned to Venice, he found the Republic ill at ease as to the question of her boundaries, the Pope still occasioned her indirect vexation; this state of affairs continued during the following year, and it was visible to the liberal minded Servite, who watched events with greater eagerness than hitherto, that both at home and abroad, the Pontiff was acquiring more power. Austria, denied redress at the last council, succumbed to his dictates, gave encouragement to the Jesuits, and treated the Reformed with intolerance.

Nothing worthy of notice had occurred in the Order of the Servi, with the exception of the appointment of the Cardinal San Severina in the room of the Cardinal Farnese; but San Severina had higher views than the Protectorship, he was anxiously looking forward to the Pontificate.

Fra Paolo had no such ambition, and his friends remarked with surprise on his not yet having any preferment. He continued his usual occupations, and attended learned societies as he had formerly done.

There were many learned associations in Italy about this period, besides those which assembled at the houses of the noble Morosini, Manutii, and others in Venice. In perpetual dread of the power of the Pope, and denied

liberty of conscience and free expression of thought in public, Italians congregated together, not only to converse with greater freedom on learning and science and passing political events, but to endeavor to lay plans for future emancipation. There can be no doubt but that the check given in after times to these meetings or Academies was from the known bias of their members to free thought and action. One of the few which survives since the time of Sarpi is that of the Crusca, established in the year 1582; it counted within its ranks many distinguished characters who, like the present Marchese Capponi, were eminent for their attainments. Latin had hitherto been the medium of communication between the learned, but the Crusca was formed with the express intention of purifying the language of Italy, Fra Paolo was not one of its members, they were for the most part Florentines.

It would be presumption in a foreigner to pronounce on his fitness to be of the Crusca, or of his writing of his native tongue, but if Livy, to whom Sarpi has been compared was charged with Patavinity, (the use of words peculiar to the Paduese,) is it probable that a Friar, who usually wrote in Latin, would wholly avoid Venetian provincialisms?

Viete
After long examination and study, reference to the principal universities and due deliberation on the systems proposed, Gregory XIII, by a bull dated 13th February A.D. 1582, announced that he had reformed the Calendar. Veta had been consulted, which may have attracted the attention of Fra Paolo to the subject, but as there is no information relative to his having shared in its adjustment, the reader is spared surmise.

In the month of April, having relinquished his duties of Provincial of his Order, Paolo resumed his place in more private life, and Fulgenzio used often to hear him say, "that the three years which followed was the only period of repose he ever enjoyed," but he did not waste his time in indolence.

"The whole powers of his mind during the remainder of A.D. 1582 to A.D. 1585, were absorbed in speculations on the phenomena of nature, in perfecting his knowledge of the transmutation of metals, and of distillation: Not that he ever supposed that he could make gold, or that any man of sense could be induced to inquire into this subject, although the study of alchemy was then common, but his only object was to obtain a more intimate acquaintance with nature, in regard to which the greatest physicians of our time can bear witness to his extensive knowledge, and to the many discoveries which he communicated to others, who thereby gained honor instead of him. There was no effete or occult property either in writing or experiment, that he did not see or examine; his knowledge was beyond all human belief!

"About this time, and for many years after, he practised all kinds of

anatomy, dissecting every species of animal with his own hand. The anatomy of the eye particularly occupied his attention, so that l'Acquapendente did not disdain to cite the authority of Padre Paolo both in his lectures and in his printed works, and even spoke of him as "the Oracle of the Age," in respect to his general learning, and his knowledge of minerals, metals, and anatomy. It was a matter of surprise to those who know the truth, that as l'Acquapendente confesses in his treatise on the Eye, "De oculu, visus organo" ¹ to have learned from him the manner in which vision is affected by the refraction of light when passing through the crystalline humour, that he did not throughout his whole treatise state that all it contains of new and rare speculations are by the Padre, "of which I," says Fulgenzio "am an eye witness, and others ought at least to have attributed praise to whom it is due, so also in respect to the blood."

"There are many eminent and learned physicians still living, and of these Santorio Santorio and Pietro Asselineo, who know that it was neither the speculation nor invention of l'Acquapendente but of the Padre, who on considering the gravity of the blood came to this conclusion, that it could not remain stationary in the veins without there being some barrier which would retain it, and by opening and closing should afford that current which is necessary to life, and therefore, under this opinion, he dissected with still more care, and found the valves. He gave an account of them to his friends in the medical profession, especially to l'Acquapendente, who acknowledged it in his public anatomical lectures, and it was afterwards acknowledged in the writings of many illustrious authors." ²

The above is the simple statement of Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, a man not only of profound learning but of the strictest probity and it is impos-

¹ " Re igitur cum amico quodam nostro communicata ille tandem forte id observavit scilicet non modo in cato, sed in homine, et quounque animali foramen uiae in majori luce contrahi in minori dilatari. Quod arcanum observatum est, et mihi significantum a Rev. Patre Magistro Paulo Veneto, Ordinis ut appellant Servorum Theologo, Philosophoque insigni, sed Mathematicarum disciplinarum praeципue Optices maxime studio, quem hoc loco honoris gratia nomino atque id deinceps ad libitum observare licuit quamvis praeter omnem opinionem id evenire judicaremus, quod lucis natura potius sit disgregare, dilatareque, tenebrarum vero constringere, densare et comprimere: at ratio omnis cessat, ubi sensus refragatur; quinimo in oculorum affectionibus et diminuta visione, cum scilicet ad Consultationem de ipsis habendam, oculos patientis forte in loco non admodum claro videremus, saepe numero id nobis imposuit cum patientem pupillæ dilatatione laborare opinaremur. Etenim non solum in magna luce foramen imminuitur, in modica dilatatur; sed etiam si quis ob humorum impuritatem diminitute videat, impedio magis adhuc dilatari appetet ita ut dilatæ pupillæ suspicionem facile faciat et injiciat." — " De Oculo, Visus Organo," etc. Acquapendente, c. vi, p. 229.

² MS.

sible, with such testimony, not to believe with the venerable Cavaliere Cicogna and others, that Fra Paolo was the first who traced the true connection of the action of the iris, in its contraction and dilatation, with vision; and the valves in the veins for the circulation of the blood. There is no more reason to doubt these assertions by Fulgenzio, than any other throughout the autograph MS. Let it also be remembered, that Pereisc was in Italy from A.D. 1599 to A.D. 1602, and at Padua and Venice during the life of Acquapendente; and that he Pereisc then knew and said publicly that the valves in the veins had been discovered by Fra Paolo Sarpi.

In further support of this fact, Foscarini cites from the life of Pereisc, by Gassendi; Fabricius Acquapendente *obit.* 1619. "Cum simul monuissem Guglielmum Harvaeum medicum Anglum edidisse praeclarum librum de successione sanguinis ex venis in arterias, et arteris rursus in venas per imperceptas anastomoses inter cetera vero argumenta confirmasse illam et venarum valvulis, de quibus ipse (Peireschius) *inaudierat* aliquid ab Acquapendente, et quarum inventorem primum Sarpium Servitam meminerat, ideo," etc. Morgagni disputes this, and affirms that no one during the life of Acquapendente had the courage to attribute it to Fra Paolo, and Gassendi adds, that " *inaudierat* ab Acquapendente," shows that Pereise judged upon the spot, and purposely expresses the contrary opinion, and that " *meminerat* " proves, that then, and in face of Acquapendente, such was the opinion current in Padua and in Venice. Acquapendente makes no mention of Sarpi in his *Venarum Ostialis*, A.D. 1603.

Fra Paolo's study of Anatomy is one of many proofs that he was above the prejudices of his times, and like his great countrymen Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo Buonarotti, did not shrink from a minute dissection of the dead, but not in public, as we learn from a MS. in the Marciana. He also traced the study of anatomy to its origin before the Christian era when the ancients made some attempts at its definition, and when the successors of Hippocrates, Xenophon and Plato did the same. It is sufficient for our present purpose not to look beyond the beginning of the 16th Century. The anatomists who followed Galen, Achilinus, Benedictus Benegarius and Massa, were succeeded by Vessalius who rose to high repute in Italy, chiefly through his account of his dissection of the human body. In A.D. 1561 Fallopius was Professor of Anatomy at Padua; and the anatomical tables of Eustachius were well known to all students of medical science. Thus eager in his pursuit after truth Fra Paolo followed in the steps of former anatomists, and they who have narrowly examined his title to discoveries in anatomy, need not fear the charge of being listeners to fables. There does not appear to be any truth in the report that Fra Paolo concealed his discovery of the valves in the

veins, lest he should be accused of magic, and that he confided a volume to the care of the Friars of the Servi on the day of his death, in which he had inserted an account of his discovery. No such volume has as yet been found in the Library of S. Mark's, where it was said that Fra Paolo requested that it should be deposited.

The discovery of the valves in the veins may have led to the discovery of the circulation of the blood; but till the finding of a treatise, which Wesling declares he saw, on the discovery of the circulation of the blood by Fra Paolo, it has not been hitherto proved that he did make this discovery. To depart from truth to over-eulogize a friend is as injurious to his character as it is ignoble to over-charge an adversary with error, and the biographer of Sarpi need not snatch laurels from the justly adorned brow of Harvey, who was never slow to acknowledge either the genius or discoveries of another.

Sprengel is of opinion that Sarpi neither discovered the valves in the veins, nor the circulation of the blood,¹ so is Tiraboschi; but Griselini differs from both. It is respectfully submitted as to the valves, that neither of the above authors could have seen Fulgenzio's autograph life of Sarpi, and as to the circulation of the blood, the words to which Valens refers, do not convey more meaning than the opinion of Galen and his followers, who held "that the blood flowed through the different parts of the body and returned through the same channels."

Colombo, the friend of Michael Angelo, Servetus and Cesalpini, all wrote vaguely on the circulation of the blood. The discovery of Harvey is now referred to, as Gassendi refers to it in the passage before quoted, and it is almost unnecessary to add, that the discovery justly imputed to Harvey, who studied under Acquapendente, is "that the arteries receiving the blood from the heart afterwards communicate it to the veins, and by them all the blood is returned again to the heart." This he first publicly announced in a lecture in the year 1616. It is the opinion of the modern physicians in Italy, whom the writer had the opportunity to consult on the subject, that Sarpi did *not* discover the circulation of the blood, but they offered no dissenting opinion as to his discoveries respecting vision, or the valves in the veins.

Vessalius first gave a scientific description of the human body with drawings by Titian, and this is the work to which Fra Paolo alludes in a letter which was in the Schedæ Sarpianæ. It bore no date. But the copy of it is interesting, as the transfusion of blood is a subject which still occupies attention.

It was during this year that Sarpi was again sent to Rome as Defi-

¹ Sprengel, vol. iv, p. 32. (History of Medicine).

nitor, to represent his province in the election of a General. He is silent on the bigotry of Gregory XIII; perhaps he coincided with the Council of Ten of 1355, in the suppression of what ought to be forgotten. On Friday the 17th of April in that year Malier Falier was beheaded. In the usual course, the minutes of the trial should have been entered on the 33rd page of that volume, but in their stead we find a blank space and the words.

“ *N. SC̄BATVR.* ”
“ Be it not written. ” ¹

Such conduct is worthy of imitation. Such be that of the tolerant towards Gregory. Let him turn to the learning of the Pope, it was not of a kind to enlarge his views as to religion; he was indefatigable in his preparation of a new edition of the “ *Decretals of Gratian.* ” These *Decretals* did not escape the penetration of Sarpi, he was a sound logician, he knew that truth cannot be deduced from false premises: throughout his treatise on Ecclesiastical Benefices, he shows that the changes, innovations, and additions in the church of Rome had been introduced by the Popes, and that many abuses had been traced to the *Decretals of Gratian*, because, with greater zeal than knowledge, this Benedictine of the twelfth Century had endeavored “ to reconcile ” many “ contradictory Canons, ” and these being received by the greater part of the Church of Rome as the infallible decrees of the Pope, the harm that was and is occasioned thereby is incalculable. Gregory XIII thought to uphold the power of Rome by his *Comments on Gratian*, but Sarpi taxes them with inefficiency, as well as those of Gregory IX, which he says must be allowed to be a book “ much more edifying in the skilful managing of a lawsuit, than in the salvation of souls. ” Again, “ *Gratian*, as well as the other old collectors of the canons, made a collection of all he thought might most contribute to the aggrandizing the Papal authority, even to the changing, vitiating, and even falsifying the places from whence he drew the decision. By which means he thought he had done his utmost to exalt this power to the highest pitch it could possibly bear, and according to the state of those times he was not mistaken; but a change of circumstances in affairs made this compilation no longer seasonable; and so to the decree, or *Decretum of Gratian*, which was called after him, succeeded the *Decretals*, but neither of which in process of time grew to signify much, the Popes, as they grew in authority, establishing still new Orders and regulations, so that neither the *Decretum*, the *Decretal*, nor the *Sextus* were any longer

¹ *Calendar. R. Brown, Pref. p. 16.*

of use as to benefices; but other rules and methods came in request, as will appear hereafter."

The death of one of the Servi demands attention, the reader will recall to mind Capella of Cremona, the early instructor of Fra Paolo, a lover of peace, he faithfully discharged his public duties, and learned in the Holy Scriptures, he left behind him several theological works, one of which was on the sacrifice of Christ. He had lived to see his pupil distinguished and beloved, and like himself devoting many hours to the perusal of the sacred volume.

The decease of another of Fra Paolo's patrons, the Cardinal Borromeo gave much regret to the Pope, who exclaimed: "Extincta est lucerna in Israel." A few lupins and a plank on which to sleep were all that latterly the Cardinal had allowed himself, his austerities had so undermined his constitution that at the early age of forty seven he died, and was carried to the tomb with extraordinary pomp, and afterwards canonized.

Affairs at Rome continued in an agitated state, on the fifth of May Pope Gregory died, and was succeeded by Sixtus V, who had been expelled from Venice when Inquisitor General for withholding absolution from those who had copies of works named in the Index Expurgatorius. His severity was not laid aside as Pope, but he wished to be on good terms with Venice; he doubtless remembered her summary treatment of him. He opened his eyes to many abuses at home and abroad, he renounced several claims, remodelled the Bull In Coena Domini, and abolished the Congregation for ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Deceived by various reforms, Venice appeared content with the new Pope whom she had more cause to dread, because he was too fond of power. It would be however unjust to overlook his great talents both in civil and ecclesiastical administration, or to omit that he required the Cardinals to participate in the general amendment.

Fra Paolo had now attained too great reputation to be suffered to remain in peace in his Convent. In a general Chapter he was elected Procurator General of his Order, and during his residence of three years at Rome, he attracted much notice. His office was to defend the suits of the Servi, to offer prayers before the Pope, to be employed by him in the Congregations, and to read a public lecture. At one of these assemblies Fra Paolo met Bellarmine, and a friendship ensued which does honor to both. Neither made any compromise as to what he considered truth, and when the hour did come when they stood opposed to each other, the noble conduct of Bellarmine cast a deathless lustre around the character of the Jesuit who dared, even in spite of the opinions of Possevin and others of his Order, to warn Sarpi that his life was in danger. Bellarmine was ten years his senior, and learned himself, he appreciated the

learning of Fra Paolo. In youth he was distinguished for his superior talents, and in after years as a controversialist. Although short in stature, in letters he was no dwarfish nephew of Pope Marcellus. He joined the society of the Jesuits when only eighteen, but he differed materially from that body as to the doctrine of justification by faith, and in this particular leant to the opinions of Saint Augustine. He was the first of his Order who professed theology at the University of Lonvain, and his sermons were listened to everywhere with marked attention and applause. Although his countenance was not prepossessing, his manners were courteous and fascinating: he loved peace, and never joined in harsh measures against those who differed from him; saying that he valued an ounce of peace more than a pound of victory. He was remarkable for patience and great perspicuity of language, both in conversation and in his writings, with the exception of those of 1607. He was in great favor with the Court of Rome where his strict life did not pass unobserved, and he might have risen to the Pontificate had not the Jesuits been distasteful to the other Orders. He was employed by Gregory to instruct the students in the vast college which the Pope had established in Rome, but although he held very exalted views of the Papacy, yet Sixtus was not satisfied that Bellarmine affirmed (which he did at one time), that the temporal power of the Pope was indirectly given by the Holy Saviour to the Pope. Its advocates were still on the increase. The papal Nuncios at Paris and at Venice approved of the attempt on the life of Queen Elizabeth of England, and Cardinal Allen advocated the regicide of an excommunicated prince, contending that it was lawful. Such were the opinions against which Fra Paolo had to strive, but it must have been consolatory to him to know, that they were unwelcome at Venice and at Rome, where he was still detained. He was happy in the society of the pious and learned Spanish Canonist Novarro, who at upwards of ninety had left his country to plead the cause of the injured Carranga Archbishop of Toledo. Notwithstanding the extraordinary severity of the Cardinal San Severina, on his return to Rome, Paolo found him as before well pleased with himself, but still wont to tell others who did not contradict him, "that they were flatterers, and those who opposed him and boldly gave their reasons for their opposition, that they were too free and daring."

But of all the friends of Fra Paolo at Rome, to none was his society more acceptable than to the Cardinal Castagna, afterwards Pope Urban VII, whose life and similarity of disposition were the probable cause of their amity. The Cardinal ever welcomed Fra Paolo with a smile, and the more frequent were his visits, the more was the Cardinal well satisfied.

From him Fra Paolo obtained information as to his History of the Council of Trent; the Cardinal Castagna had been President at the formation of the decrees of that Council. "But the decrees," wrote Sarpi, "do not agree with what the Congregation of Cardinals dictated as to the Council."

Paolo listened to all he heard concerning this subject, and made notes on it, but this was not his only occupation, he appears usually to have followed out some scientific pursuit when called to any city for the affairs of the Servi, and thus we find that on the occasion of his going to Naples to attend a Chapter of his Order, he became acquainted with della Porta, to whom the discovery of the Camera Obscura is attributed. A meeting of learned and scientific persons was held at his house, of which no one could be a member unless he had made some new discovery; of all the members, Sarpi was he who made the greatest research on the properties of the magnet.

Besides da Porta of Naples, another associate also of Fra Paolo at Rome demands notice. It is uncertain which of the original Jesuits he met at Rome, but Fra Fulgenzio believed that he was Bobadilla, of whose holy simplicity Fra Paolo spoke with pleasure, and it must have been very gratifying to his devout mind to have seen this aged man at prayer in places remote from the haunts of man. They frequently conversed, and Bobadilla told Fra Paolo freely, "That had Ignatius returned to earth, he would have found his Order in such a state that he would not have recognized it as that Order which he had founded." Bobadilla was one of the seven persons who, at the instigation of Ignatius Loyola, took a solemn vow at the Church of Montmartre, that after they had finished a course of theology, they would renounce the world, live in poverty, labor for the glory of God and the good of souls, preach the gospel to the infidel, and if unable to fulfil this vow, they agreed to offer their services to the Pope, twice in two years they renewed their vows at Montmartre. Bobadilla remained steadfast to Loyola, and when the latter summoned the ten (the seven had increased to this number) to Venice, 1537, Bobadilla accompanied the others habited as a pilgrim, all his worldly goods in a knapsack on his back, and his Bible, breviary and rosary suspended around his neck. He had intended to accompany Loyola and the little company to Jerusalem, but he was hindered by the war between Turkey and Venetia, and the ten went to Rome, 1538, where they met with great opposition from the Cardinal Giudici on account of the vast increase of new Orders. At length Paul III approved the Society of Jesuits by a bull dated the 27th of September 1540, but with this proviso, that their number should not exceed sixty persons. The Jesuits

professed poverty, but their profession and practice were at variance. Loyola was created General of the Order on the 14th of March 1541, and by a second bull of Paul III, the Society was allowed to be composed of unlimited numbers, with liberty not only to make any additions to the former constitutions, but also to change them *ad libitum*. Many other privileges were also granted to Loyola, who demanded and enforced a stricter obedience than had ever been required or exacted from any members of any monastic body. Pope Julius III confirmed the privileges of the Jesuits, on the 22nd of October 1552. In 1555 Loyola died, but not before he had seen his Society overspread the world. Roderigo and Xavier had the Indies for their province; Faber, Germany; Aranez, Spain; Lainez Pasquier and Bobadilla, Italy; the seventh was sent with some youths to France; Salmeron to Great Britain and Ireland, and several to America. In 1543 there were only eighty eight Jesuits, in 1545 they had ten religious houses, in 1549 they had two provinces, one in Portugal, and twenty two houses, in 1556 twelve provinces.

There can be no doubt of the honesty of Ignatius Loyola, his errors were the result of a neglected education and a heated imagination, usurping command over a weaker judgment. This is very evident in his work called "Spiritual Exercises." Sarpi never charged Loyola with the intrigues and errors of his followers, but he did not hesitate to condemn his theology. It was opposed to the theology of the Holy Scriptures and of Saint Augustine.

Devotion to Ignatius appeared to be the mainspring of the obedience of his followers, and the world witnessed a self-abnegation founded on the observation of the Spiritual Exercises which was a just cause of astonishment. Ignatius aimed at nothing less than the spread of his Society, and an entire subjugation of the will, understanding, and affection of each member to him and to each successive General. The Jesuits were not a body of which the members were actuated by separate impulse, one pulse vibrated through the whole. The General could command the whole body or the least member, equally certain that his command was law that must be implicitly obeyed. The constitutions enlarged and recast (it is believed by Lainez) certainly tended to the absolute bondage of the conscience, it was made over to another, in strict parlance that sovereign was hurled from his throne, and the man was led captive by another, until the hour when that dethroned sovereign asserted its forgotten rights, and demanded to be reinstated in its high place. But by long habitude and training, the conscience was oftentimes lulled to sleep, and the Jesuits were almost unconsciously slaves and accustomed by degrees to a novel and faulty system of morals and of

theology, *They* did what once they would have been loath to do, not because they judged it to be right, but because it was their duty to obey their superior, when for the weal of the Pope or of the Church. Men so sworn to the interests of the Court of Rome were justly feared by Fra Paolo Sarpi, and this is the reason why their rise and progress have been entered into here. They formed an important feature of his times, and the reader will mark the different path of these Reformers and of Sarpi. To a lover of free thought, of liberty of conscience, of integrity, and of justice like him the Jesuits were opposed, *he* sighed for true reform within the Church of Rome, and saw the Jesuits assume the name of Reformed when he knew they had no right to such a title. Any reform which would tend to an abrogation of their novel doctrines was distasteful to an Order who were the servants of the Popes, or rather of the Papacy, for some of the Pontiffs did not approve of the Jesuits, and in later times the Order was abolished by Clement XIV¹ who partook largely of the opinions of Sarpi as to the reform of the Church of Rome. Of the reformed Church and its members whom the Jesuits deemed "heretics" they were the opponents, and as they ignored all human ties, their hearts were steeled against the voice of supplication. Sarpi, both in his letters and other writings, complains bitterly of their obduracy. They were strict observers of human nature, and were distinguished for their tact, address, and good manners. They were generally of pleasing exterior, and to this "letter of recommendation"² they added considerable power of bending those whom they addressed to their purpose.

About the year 1556, the Jesuits had obtained such knowledge of state affairs at Venice through the confessional, that it was seriously mooted that they should be banished from the city; but they used all their talents and skill in persuasion to remain, and effected their purpose, the Senators contenting themselves with forbidding their wives and daughters to confess to them, though unfortunately some of the Senators at a later period had recourse themselves to these attractive but unsafe teachers. We shall have occasion to notice their progress from time to time, their first introduction to Venice was singular. During the infancy of Fra Paolo, Trevisano was Doge, he was a good but superstitious man, and many years previous to his holding the highest office in the state he lived in S. Marco. It is said that he dreamed that a saint stood at his door. He awoke, went to it, and found Loyola. Trevisano sheltered him, presented him to the Doge

¹ Restored by Pius VII.

² Lord Bacon.

Gritti, who gave him a free passage to Palestine, but Trevisano did not know the effect of that introduction, it was not long before the Jesuits made Venice a stronghold. The genius and intelligence of the Venetians would be a powerful instrument to the Society, and it was not neglected, but they never won Fra Paolo to be one of their number.

He
The heart of Fra Paolo was deeply touched by the war against the Reformed in Germany and in France. How would he have been gladdened had Henry III remembered the parting advice given to him by the Doge and Senate, to sheath his sword against his subjects, whose only demand was in liberty of conscience to serve their God. It is a spot of earth on which the eye loves to rest, that where the tolerant Servite craved of Heaven's High King, that ~~the~~ would permit a gentler rule, and it may well be believed that all the persecutions and misery that Fra Paolo either saw or heard of for the sake of religion, not only awakened his deepest sympathy, but nerved him for the contest which he was one day to wage against papal aggression and wrong.

He had many objects of interest; books and rare MSS. which few saw were open to him; for example, he was at Rome when the Codex Amiatinus, was borrowed for the correction of the Sixtine Bible.¹ Fra Paolo speaks of the readings of Sixtus, but not in commendation; the edition of the Scriptures published by this Pope was too much in accordance with the papal interpretation of the volume to be approved by an unprejudiced scholar. Sixtus published not only an edition of the Vulgate, but a Bible in the Italian language against the wishes of the Cardinals. To the people the Sacred Book was still prohibited, which was a source of regret to Fra Paolo because there were Bibles of Venice 1471, 1477, and 1481, and Bruciollo's of 1541, and it must never be lost sight of in his biography, that the Holy Scriptures were his guide in life, his consolation in affliction, his refuge in danger, his support in death.

Sixtus had made large additions to the Library of the Vatican, which at the end of the sixteenth century was esteemed the richest public library in the world, and Fra Paolo availed himself of its treasures. The chief families of Rome had also amassed many volumes, and the learned honored him by presents of books. His eagerness to see works lately published, or that he had not previously met with, is apparent throughout his letters, and as his reputation increased, authors were ambitious to send their

¹ The New Testament of this valuable Copy of the Latin Vulgate was published by Dr. Tischendorf, and the whole is about to be prepared for publication by Dr. Heyse an accurate German scholar for Brockhaus Leipzig. The Codex was restored A.D. 1590, and is now in the Laurentian Library.

works to him, and to await his opinion of them before they were sent to the press.

When the usual term of his office as Procurator was completed, Fra Paolo retraced his steps to Venice. Poor he had entered the vast city of Rome, poor he quitted it, but he had gained deep insight into the policy of Sixtus V, he had seen that although there were men of deep religious thought at his Court, yet there was scarcely any advancement but through intrigue, the liberality of his sentiments was even then suspected, as the issue proved, notwithstanding his silence and prudence. He was little likely to follow the faulty precepts of those desirous of place, he had early shown that a Court was uncongenial to him, and the Court of Rome partook too much of the nature of other Courts to be relished by a man whose highest ambition was to follow the steps of a King whose kingdom is not of this world. "Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo," was often repeated by him. Nor could his non-reception of the doctrines of the Jesuits pass unnoticed at Rome. They had the power by means of constant confession as well as otherwise, of discovering the most hidden secrets, and as Fra Paolo was acquainted with Bobadilla and Bellarmine, either they or other members of their Society knew his opinion of it.

It has been well observed that among those who dwelt within the walls of convents and monasteries, "religion was usually either all or nothing," assuredly, that in such institutions there have been reared many of superior talent and vast acquirements, of great and varied science and extensive erudition, men of whom human nature might be justly proud, is a fact which needs no proof, but it is equally true, that within these walls have been found others in whom that life of seclusion has fostered the worst passions; who first corrupted by idleness have brooded over mischievous designs from which they would once have recoiled, until carried on from step to step by ambition, love of gain, or other evil incentives they have come to feel no compunction even in jeopardizing the life of an innocent person.

But lest the reader suppose from this that in the narrative which follows concerning Gabriello there is any desire to overcharge the failings of an enemy of Fra Paolo, we quote from the faithful pen of Fra Fulgenzio. "The latter part of the charge of Fra Paolo as Procurator at Rome was during the early part of the Pontificate of Sixtus V, who having been himself a Friar, knew those among the Friars who were remarkable for their talents. And knowing the Padre's genius, he employed him in the Congregations and in other affairs more than had been usually done. On one occasion when the Pope was being carried on his litter through the streets, he summoned P. Paolo to him and conversed with him for some time. Although the subject of this conversation was nothing more than some me-

morials against the Generals of the Order of the Servi, this unusual occurrence was remarked by the whole Court, and it was quickly rumoured how much the Padre was in favor with the Pontiff. Idle gossip had already created him a Cardinal. But the flattering incident, which he had never sought or coveted, entailed on him a long and harassing persecution. On first leaving Venice, he had commended his friends to the counsel and direction of Gabriello Colissoni, who had formerly been associated with him in the removal of certain abuses from the Provinces. But it often happens that what we condemn in others we justify in ourselves, and as Gabriello's ruling, principal passion was self interest, he carried on a system of extortion during the Padre's absence from his Province to such excess, as to acquire there an almost absolute power. There remained in fact but one impediment in his way: the expectation of the Padre's speedy return to Venice, by whom he knew such malpractices would not be approved. He therefore thought his safest course would be to endeavour to persuade him to remain at Rome, and to this object he at once applied himself, and procured some of the Padre's best friends to advise him that by a further sojourn his credit at the Court of Rome might probably advance his fortunes. But the Padre, not only reproved him for the advice, but to cut short the correspondence, answered him once for all by a letter written in cypher (the same which was usually employed between them) in these words; "Would you have me place confidence in Rome, where only "*Cenedi*" and other ministers of pleasure or of gain prosper?"

This unfortunate letter and the cypher with it were carefully treasured up by Gabriello, and when at the end of three years the Padre returned to his Convent, he found the extortions of Gabriello throughout the Province had been carried to such an excess as he could not possibly sanction. A venal countenance of them was however obtained with some difficulty, and at a cost of no less than 20,000 Ducats, part of the accumulated plunder, from some who were paying court to the Cardinal S. Severina; and when at last the Padre expressed his disapproval, Gabriello at once came to an open rupture with him. Then it was, that to save himself and carry his point, Gabriello, who was already in favor with the Court, and, which is yet more surprising, especially with the Cardinal Protector, at that time Head of the Holy Office, presented to that Court the letter of the Padre and its cypher above mentioned. On this the Cardinal, though he did not venture to cite the Padre before the Inquisition, evinced the most implacable anger, and as the multitude always veer with the wind as it changes, although Fra Paolo, seeing the abuses in his Province were now incurable, withdrew from all further concern in its government to the privacy of his cell, he became from this time a constant mark for persecution, if not in his own person

(where it was difficult to find a vulnerable point), yet in the person of his friends, who were not only excluded from degrees and honors on the most trifling pretences, but every fault, even the most venial, was magnified into a mortal sin.”¹

No doubt, this letter and cypher were never forgotten at the Court of Rome. The resentment of such a spirit as that of the Cardinal S. Severina was no light matter, but he had not at present declared himself openly against Fra Paolo. Perhaps conscience might have admonished him how strictly true had been the stricture against Rome expressed in the Padre’s letter, whom all her blandishments had not been able to seduce from the path of honor and rectitude.

At all events, the tide of public opinion was not wholly against him. He had still many friends, friends even within the “Council of the Ten,” friends within the Senate, friends among the nobles, friends among the merchants, citizens and people. Free and independant Venice was still proud of Fra Paolo, and had any ventured to carry that letter before the Inquisition at Venice, the charge would have fallen utterly powerless, for the Republic still required three of her patricians to be present there to see justice done, and to control the papal officials. In all Venice there never was found one noble capable of dragging Fra Paolo before the Inquisition. Rome reserved to herself the shame of demanding his presence before that most iniquitous tribunal, a tribunal against which the outraged people of Naples, Mantua and many others towns of Italy had often risen, but were powerless till modern times to effect its destruction.

The Republic, or more properly speaking the Doge and Senate, knew all that was going on at Rome, and the treachery of Gabriello had doubtless been communicated to them by their Ambassador at that city, but it had created no prejudice in their minds against Fra Paolo, and he was still welcomed as usual by his friends at the Ridotto Morosini, an interesting association which is thus described by one who frequented it. “This conversazione had become numerous, not only as men of worth and letters made it their resort, some of whom have since become distinguished Senators and stars in the firmament of the most serene Republic, but all virtuosi, seculars and men of religious orders were admitted, as well as all lovers of literature who came to Venice from Italy or from any other country... Ceremony which in our times is so much affected, and yet is so superfluous, was debarred: because it wearies the brains of the most quick sighted and consumes time by an artificial method of telling untruths, unmeaning because it means so much. But politeness, freedom and confi-

¹ MS.

dence prevailed, each person was permitted to introduce his own subject, without any restriction as to passing from one topic to another, thus there was always new matter, the object in discussion being the discovery of truth.

Whatever subject was introduced, Paolo could not only discourse on it without premeditation, but was equally ready to maintain a proposition, or to impugn it, after the manner of the schools. This he did to the surprise of all present, and if in his riper years any one recalled these things to his remembrance, he smiled and treated them as trifles."

The illustrious Andrea Morosini and Sarpi had been school-fellows as well as companions in their maturer years, and the courteous manners, as well as the learning of the Servite, could not fail to ensure respect under the roof of the future senator and historian of Venice. The calm dignified and grave but not morose expression, which pervades the portrait of Morosini is but a faithful mirror of the mind of that eloquent and distinguished patriot. Deep thought dwells in that steadfast eye, and the whole countenance as well as the bearing of the head bespeak, not only high birth, but noble qualities.

Another member of the society was Leonardo Donato, he too had been the school-fellow of Fra Paolo, and had studied at Bologna and at Padua. He was a man of prudent and upright character, loyal to his God and to his country. He had been sent on several embassies to foreign powers, had given promise of the wisdom of his future career, and no one could so well inform the society at the Morosini of the state of affairs at the Court of Rome as Donato, who had resided there officially. His countenance although solemn was agreeable, to some he appeared severe, but he was not so; his head, like his handwriting, was peculiarly small. Sir Henry Wotton remarks, "I call not impertinently to mind that one of my time in Venice had wit enough to become the civil head of that grave Republic who yet was called, il Donato Testolina."¹

Sarpi held frequent discussions on grave subjects with Donato at the Morosini, thus the future Doge had ample opportunity of discovering the development of his talents. And well had it been if these two great men could both have acted in future with equal fearlessness of the Court of Spain. But while Paolo Sarpi and the company at the Morosini lamented the growing power of Philip, and the assumptions of the Pope, all valued these meetings, not only as a union of wise heads and indefatigable students both of the abstruse and the lesser sciences, but of hearts which beat high for the weal of their country.

¹ Letter. Arch. Ven. = Survey of Education, p. 81.

One of these was Mocenigo, afterwards Bishop of Ceneda, who to qualify him for the discharge of the duties of his Bishopric studied canon law under Fra Paolo, and took him with him to Ferrara when he went there to meet the Pope. Marc Trevisano, an old friend of Fra Paolo, also attended the Morosini, besides several of the Contarini, whose ancestry not only held place amongst the most ancient nobles of Venice, but were like themselves emulous of distinction in the world of letters. Of Nicolo Contarini, Fra Paolo expressed himself in warm terms, that senator shielded the Servite on many occasions from wrong.

Ottavio Buono, a distinguished citizen who declined the honor of nobility, was also a friend of Fra Paolo, and the guest of the Morosini as well as the noble Veniero: in the latter pages of this work is the last sad tribute to their friendship from his truthful pen.

It is no easy task to draw the character of Domenico Molino. No one can look on his portrait, and not be attracted by the countenance of this wise and accomplished senator in his state robes of crimson, and ample ruff. Of tender nature, this great and good man was much beloved, and his praise is to be found in many volumes. That he was known and valued beyond the Alps, bespoke his liberality of sentiment, which was a strong bond of union between him and Fra Paolo, who took great pleasure in his society, not only at the Morosini but at his Convent. He was a man of elegant manners, a patron of letters, and highly esteemed not only by Vortius but also by Pereisc. The Senator Antonio Quirini, a distinguished noble who afterwards wrote in favor of the Republic, as well as Marcello, a relation of Molino and of similar tastes, Marini Zane and Sebastian Veniero whom Galileo classes with Agostino da Mula and Fra Paolo Sarpi for their skill in mathematics,¹ Jacopo Morosini, Leonardo Giustiniani, Bodoaro, Antonio Malpietro, the Secretaries Dolce, Giambattista Padavino, and others formed the society at the Morosini.

Attired in the habit of his Order, although scrupulously nice in his person and dress, his garments formed a strong contrast to those of the company; but they looked deeper than the surface, it was by the stature of his mind that they measured Fra Paolo. The patricians of the Senate wore gorgeous robes of crimson on state occasions, but in private the nobles were more conspicuous for the costliness than the vivid color of their dress, and beneath the ample folds of their cloaks they often wore rich apparel and jewels of great value. The Secretaries of state were attired in blue, the Knights in black, long sleeves, red caps and collars of lawn, their hose and doublets of black satin or brocade.

Such was the company, and such the outward guise of the members of

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¹ Difesa Galileo, p. 188.

the Morosini, and happy was it for Fra Paolo that he had such a resort where he could enjoy social intercourse and friendship, which was one of the great charms of his existence. He had the true Socratic art of drawing forth others in conversation, and thus discovering the depths of their minds, which was perhaps to be attributed to his faculty of being able to discourse on every subject that might arise. If he met with any one preeminent in any art or science, he questioned him with peculiar suavity, till he had gained all the information he could, and this he did without either importunity or troublesome curiosity. His greatest pleasure was to listen to travellers, who could describe other lands, their inhabitants, religion and manners; and this information he could acquire at the Nave d'Oro, the house of the Signor Sechini, who had studied at the university of Louvain, and was very superior to his position in life. For one and twenty years he welcomed Fra Paolo to his home, especially when there were foreigners present whom Paolo loved to question, and when in later years the family was calumniated because the elder and younger Sechini were his friends, and Paolo would therefore have withdrawn from their society, the Sechini, with the true nobility of disinterested friendship, would not consent to his absence, preferring his company to any pecuniary loss.

At the Nave d'Oro Fra Paolo met M. Perrot, who on his return from Constantinople with the Ambassador Aramont remained in Italy, where his amiable manners and great candor gained him general esteem. Although he was of the Reformed Church and wrote on the Bull of Sixtus against the King of Navarre, these were no obstacles to his acquaintance with Fra Paolo, and the author of "L'aviso piacevole dato alla bella Italia," had such regard for Paolo that their friendship continued through life, thus the genial presence of Fra Paolo was not only agreeable to those Venetians he met at the Nave d'Oro, but to those foreigners who formed part of the company, and boasted that they "had seen the greatest genius of his time." He was well known to Europe before the year 1606; if he was too modest to proclaim his abilities they had not escaped observation, and the Friar who was honored by "Popes, Princes and their Nobility, Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops, and by the universities of Italy," could not be unknown.

Little has been said as to Fra Paolo's health; he had throughout life grave disorders; about this period he suffered from derangement of the whole system, and violent pains in the head.

As in childhood he was small in body, and his stature short, thus he had little strength to combat with infirmity. Notwithstanding, he bore pain with serenity, nay even hilarity, and never intruded his sufferings in time of illness upon others. "He looked on it as a mark of divine favor

giving warning of death, and was impressed with the idea that he would not live. His weakness did not however interfere with his division of the day into three parts, the service of God, study and conversation. He was always present at the church services. The furniture of his room was very simple; its only ornament was a picture which pourtrayed Christ in the garden of Gethsemane, a crucifix with a human skull beneath it, as his peculiar mirror, and three hour glasses to measure the time. He had no wish, therefore he felt no want, he was rich in his poverty, although without income or possessed of any source whence he could obtain money, of which he had only sufficient for the day, and that but little. He had no books but what were given or lent to him by his friends, but as he remembered all he read, no Prince ever had a greater library.”¹

“ Fra Paolo was a man of the most lively sensibility, discerning objects of which others were quite insensible. It was wonderful how quickly he perceived of what meats were composed, whether compounded or mixed, good or injurious, and as at certain times and for certain reasons he had great cause to guard against poison that faculty was not superfluous. Not that he was fastidious in his food, but because he knew that what God keeps is well kept, he felt sure that by his exquisite taste He would warn him whenever there was danger, and as the peril was greatest in what he drank, he was then still more upon his guard. His passibility was very great, every thing made a lasting impression upon him, and it was wonderful how long these impressions remained in his mind. The form of every place which he had seen was graven on his memory, and his friends would question him thousands of times how it was possible to remember such minutia. If he read a book (and he read every book of any note which issued from the press), he knew the whole work, even the place in a page where he had read, and as he was so easily impressed, it was more surprising that it was as difficult to efface the impression; and such was his deep humility that if one praised him for this, he would say they only praised a great imperfection and a great weakness which was injurious to him; that his great passibility was the cause of it, that it gave him no trouble, and that his memory being so retentive, so far from being a perfect virtue or quality, only showed that his affections were moved, which evinced passion, and therefore every little idea or relic of the object continued it. His constant study of the canon law and decrees, prior and subsequent to the time when he relinquished his office as provincial, was such that he not only knew their date, but the cause for which they had been enacted, the source from whence they were taken, and every particular connected with their observance and nonobservance, as well as with the

¹ MS.

intricate history of all beneficiary matters and the controversies concerning them. To theory he now added the practice of the Congregations of the tribunals at Rome, their formula and method of procedure."

But what was most wonderful was that he retained the remembrance of every place, site, figure, or statue that he had seen. From this passibility, according to Fra Paolo from this impressible temperament, but according to others from his great intellectual powers, and not so far as we know from any study of physiognomy, "he had greater knowledge, of character," Fra Fulgenzio proceeds to say, "than any one I ever saw, and I could relate how only from one conversation with certain persons he formed an opinion of them as correct as if that little window, so coveted by Momus, was actually in their hearts. If I told of his penetration into their nature, habits, inclinations and deportment, I fear that my statement of the truth would bring my writing into discredit. The necessity of minute though unwilling observation so refined his judgment, that in his latter years especially some of the friars thought he had a familiar spirit, an idea which needs no refutation, he was but like a skilful performer, who judges of an instrument by one touch. I remember several virtuosi coming to see him in his cell, when one who had made a very accurate study of the properties of the magnet, believing with good reason that he knew as much on this subject as any one, was introduced to the Padre and entered into conversation with him; but on finding that there was no speculation or experiment which the Friar was unacquainted with or could not prove, he was overcome by surprise. Remarkable inventions of instruments, engines for measurement of weight or time, or for mathematical or military purposes, all these were brought for his inspection. He immediately perceived the design, and gave his opinion as to any one of these articles being likely to serve the intended purpose or not. Many men of great genius (still alive) communicated their inventions of any new instrument to him, and if it was of value, he would show in what manner it could be improved."

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Fra Paolo continued to make Padua a favorite resort; besides meeting with Acquapendente and Santorio, he had long enjoyed the society of Pinelli, whose house was the assembly of many savans. He was there introduced to Ghetaldo the mathematician, who expressed much surprise at the acquirements of Fra Paolo in mathematics, and subsequently became his friend. Pinelli was rich, and distributed his wealth with a liberal, hand,² and many a student was cheered by his generosity when need would have driven him from the University. This learned Genoese had a keen

¹ MS.

² Life of Pinelli, Gualdo (Latin).

love of study, and versed in the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues, as well as Spanish, French, and Italian, he was no less master of mathematics, philosophy, jurisprudence, and medicine; music was one of his recreations as also was botany, his knowledge of which would recommend him to Fra Paolo who laid out the first botanic garden at Padua.

From the time Pinelli fixed his abode there (1558), he began to collect books, and his library was one of the finest in Europe. His cabinet of antiquities, maps, medals, minerals, mathematical and astronomical instruments were at the service of all; and although of weakly constitution and unable to leave his home except to attend church, he made all welcome to his hospitality. His mien was graceful and modest, and his eye, despite its weakness, was indicative of a mind of no common calibre. In letters he found a kindred spirit in Fra Paolo, but there was yet a deeper union not only with Pinelli, Donato, De Thou, Molino, Du Plessis Mornay, and De Ferrier, in religion which diffused its harmony through this circle of learned men on earth, binding them together in the harmony of heaven.

When Fra Paolo returned from Padua, he found to his grief that one of the first objects of San Severina's ill treatment was Fra Giulio, an aged man of irreprehensible life. When Paolo entered the Order of the Servi, Fra Giulio had supplied him with clothes, travelling expenses and books, "as to clothes, he only had one suit, if he had fallen into the water, he must have remained in bed till his habit was dried." ¹ This appears but a slender stock of clothing, but small as it was if it had not been that Fra Paolo had supplies from the Convent, it would have been still more limited, since from great age and loss of memory Fra Giulio forgot what he had undertaken to supply. Fra Paolo was little disturbed by this, he contented himself with what the Convent gave him, "one might as well think of altering a square as of disturbing Paolo." He heard that poor as his allowance was, both he and Fra Giulio were to be deprived of that, and Giulio was banished from Venice under pretext of his having excited the nobles against the Patriarch. Hitherto Fra Paolo had submitted, but this last act of injustice roused him; he went to Rome, pleaded for the aged friar's return to Venice, and won his cause. The slanders of the foes of Fra Paolo and Giulio sank as sinks the darkness of night before the sun of morn.

the garden

¹ MS.

CHAPTER V.

A.D. 1588 — A.D. 1604.

DOGES OF VENICE. Pasquale Cicogna.

1595. Marino Grimani.

SOVEREIGNS OF GERMANY. Rodolph II.

ENGLAND. Elizabeth.

GEAT BRITAIN. 1603. James I.

FRANCE. Henry III. 1574 Henry IV. 1594.

SPAIN. Philip II. 1598. Philip III.

TURKEY. 1595. Mahomet III. Achmet I.

POPES. Sixtus V. 1590, Urban VII. Gregory XIV.
1591. Innocent IX. 1592. Clement VIII.

Historical notice. — Urban VII. — Innocent IX. — Clement VIII consults Fra Paolo. — Dispensation. — Fra Paolo's remarks on the origin of opinions. — F. Gio. Battista. — Cardinals. — Paolo denied preferment. — Sir H. Wotton. — M. de Thou.

It is now necessary to glance at the politics of Europe, and principally at those of England, in which Fra Paolo took a lively interest; he has pronounced "Queen Elizabeth to be wise in all her government." Liberty of conscience and rest had succeeded the misrule of her predecessor, but Philip of Spain designed to win back England to the Pope, and primarily to himself; this, however, was frustrated by the loss of the Spanish Armada, which was a source of joy to Venetia, as what curbed the power of Philip was gain to the Republic. Sixtus, however, although writhing under the loss of England, believed that he would conquer elsewhere, and in Germany through the influence of strong Papists and Jesuits many had lapsed to Rome.

Compared with the former corruption of manners, there was at this time a change for the better amongst the clergy and religious Orders, but the grant of free education by the Jesuits wherever they had a College almost obliged the people to take them for instructors. There were thus Jesuits employed in education throughout the length and breadth of the land, and this applies to every country where they had established themselves. The learning of the Jesuits was by some overrated, and few were yet well informed as to the pernicious tendency of their system of morals.

Fra Paolo accounted "*their learning to be only built on the ignorance of the people,*" but they were still winning their way to be Confessors of Kings, and masters of all the state secrets of the Courts of Europe, while they chased the other Orders from their presence, with words but not by actions of peace. All save Russia felt their influence, or sway: England, France, Germany, Switzerland and the far East and West, as well as the North and South.

While such was the state of affairs in the north of Europe, Pope Sixtus summoned Henry III to Rome, to answer for the murder of the Cardinal de Guise; but France was spared the humbling sight of her King a suppliant for mercy at the feet of the Pope in a way she little expected. Henry III was stabbed to the heart by Jacques Clement, a half witted man who triumphed in the regicide.¹ The Republic of Venice immediately desired her Ambassador² to congratulate King Henry IV, as sovereign of France. This gave umbrage to Spain, but the Republic knew that Spain was held at bay when she was in amity with France. Fra Paolo beheld the Pope about to interfere with Venetian rights and dictate to her because of her acknowledgment of Henry IV, who was of the reformed religion, but he likewise lived to see him conceal his wrath. "By me kings reign," were words Sixtus did not well comprehend, and when the Ambassador Leonardo Donato returned to Venice, although he could tell Fra Paolo of the good will of Sixtus towards himself, still he was afraid that beneath the kiss of friendship lay the smothered fire of anger against Venetia. The Spanish Ambassador had dared the Pope to acknowledge King Henry IV. But Venice had acted wisely, and can now look back with pride on the time when she gave strong aid to France, when she commanded her Ambassador to destroy the bonds she held of Henry of Navarre for large loans, and when she was foremost in the cause of tolerance and of liberty amongst the nations which still adhered to Rome. In acknowledgment of this act of generosity, in the chivalrous spirit of the times, the King sent to the Republic of Venice the sword which he had worn at the battle of Ivry, where the injured Monarch met his subjects, rebels by command of the Pope, and it was there that Du Plessis Mornay proved himself worthy of the friendship of Fra Paolo by his fidelity to his Sovereign. De Mornay knew that the highest interests of his country consisted in the advocacy of a reformation in religion, the riddance of the papal power, and the prevention of the return of the Jesuits to France, he therefore rejected with disdain an offer which was made to him of an allowance for life from the Grand Duke of

¹ From a fine copy of Davila's, *Guerre Civili di Francia*.

² Mocenigo.

Tuscany, if he would prevail upon King Henry IV to join the communion of the Church of Rome; neither Fra Paolo nor Du Plessis Mornay was to be bought by gold. Early in the year the Pope appeared to be softened towards the King, but as the King of Spain still persisted in treating this monarch as a heretic, and in refusing to recognize him as King of France, Sixtus actually dismissed the French Ambassador from his Court. Italy, however, showed strong symptoms of resistance to the Pope, but his eventful career was near its close. He died on the 27th of August and was succeeded by the Cardinal Castagna, from whose lowly and gentle character great expectations were raised; and during his short government of thirteen days, as Urban VII, he employed himself in the reform of the Dataria, not in bestowing favors. This estimable man had corresponded with Fra Paolo since their acquaintance at Rome, and having a high opinion of his piety and talents, would probably have given him preferment, if his life had been prolonged, but Fra Paolo expressed no selfish regret on learning the premature death of Urban. One who was present told Fra Fulgenzio that he exclaimed: " Ideo raptus est ne malitia mutaret intellectum ejus, " almost an echo of the words of Urban himself, who died, thanking God " for taking him from earth ere he had been guilty of faults into which his high position might have led him. " The Spanish faction prevailed in the next Conclave, and news arrived at Venice that the Cardinal Sfrondato was elected Pope, by the name of Gregory XIV. He was friendly to the League and to Spain, but after having excited the people of France still further against King Henry IV, he died and was succeeded by Innocent IX whose misrule only lasted two months.

Amongst the Cardinals who had long aspired to the Popedom was the Cardinal San Severina, with whom Fra Paolo had so long been associated, and who now felt certain that he would obtain the triple crown; but such was the severity of his temper that many of the Conclave so dreaded his exaltation, that he lost his election. His disappointment was so excessive, as he himself relates, that " his grief wrung blood from his agonized frame. " Sarpi was thus once more bereft of hope of advancement, but the Romans had reason to rejoice that the stern spirit of San Severina did not rule them.

The Cardinal Aldobrandino was chosen in his stead, and as Clement VIII, exercised strong control over all the kingdoms of Europe which had not the courage to rid themselves of usurpation. The Venetians now mediated for Henry IV, but although there was a strong party for the King in France, the Pope would not abate one iota of his pretensions, and insisted that the King must renounce the form of worship in which he had been educated. But were the lessons of Jeanne d'Albret, Queen of

Navarre to be forgotten? And was Clement VIII to be victorious, and link France to Rome even to this day?

Although it will be seen in the sequel that Clement gave no reward to Fra Paolo for his services, yet he consulted him on many occasions. His opinion was asked as to a dispensation which was demanded by the Duke de Joyeuse, who at the age of twenty had become a Capuchin, on the death of his wife to whom he was tenderly attached; but his brother dying five years after, and the recluse remaining the only heir of his house, he wished to renounce his monastic vows. On a meeting of a Congregation of Cardinals and Theologians to discuss the matter, such were the exorbitant claims of the Pontiff, that of them the Cardinal Bellarmine is reported to have whispered to Fra Paolo, "These are what lost Germany to Rome, and what will cause her the loss of France and other kingdoms." However, the dispensation was granted.

The correspondence of Fra Paolo was now much extended; because he had undertaken the study of that branch of jurisprudence which determines the boundaries of ecclesiastical and priestly law; and the rule of Primes. He wished to understand "fully the great difference of opinion of the Gallican Church with respect to beneficiary matters, as well as to other particulars belonging to the royal jurisdiction which were raised by the assembly of the States at Blois."¹

He also continued his study of mathematics, and his progress in this science might be deemed by some to be exaggerated, had not proof remained in the corrections which he made on the work of Viete in the Library of the Servi. It is however just to Viete to add, that probably some of these were typographical errors, as in the work published by Viete 1579, he states that it is inaccurately executed. Fra Fulgenzio names Vieta with great respect, and Dr. Hutton pronounces him not only to have been one of the most respectable mathematicians of the sixteenth century, or indeed of any age, but to have excelled in other branches of learning. He adds, "His writings abound with marks of great originality and the finest genius, as well as intense application. But the theorem, known as Vieta's property of chords, is the only one which connects his name with the ordinary mathematics of the present day. The property connects the chord of a circle drawn from a point with the sums of the power of the roots of a quadratic equation."² From mathematics, Paolo Sarpi passed to a minute study of the phenomena of the mind. Foscarini saw his MS. on "The origin and decline of the opinions of men,"³ and thus writes of it.

¹ MS.

² For this I am indebted to the distinguished Professor of Mathematics in the University of Edinburgh, (1868).

³ Della Letteratura Veneziana, Foscarini, lib. 3. p. 310, n. 254.

" The system of the author generally is as follows, he shows how external objects act upon our senses, distinguishing the objects which cause sensation from sensation itself, and he maintains that odours, tastes, and sounds are affections of the mind, not properties of the body. Thus he makes a distinction between sensation and the sensitive quality; with these primary elements derived from the sensitive quality which is in the nervous body and retained in the memory, the discursive or distinctive faculty or the intellectual agent which forms the sequence of all other ideas abstracting, composing, comparing, et cetera, and hence species, genera, axioms or general maxims, and argument. He proceeds to say, that the sense is never at fault, as it conveys simply the sensation it has received from a sensible object, but errors arise from relying on one sense only, or from not rectifying by the other senses any idea falsely produced by the first impression. As the senses, therefore, do not inform the intellect as to what really exists in the sensible object, but only as to that which is apparent, therefore we cannot always reach truth by these means. If from the general idea of such a system, we go on to consider it in its parts, we meet with much that is worthy of admiration in his argumentative and geometrical method of reasoning, his procession from one subject to another, and many of his discoveries, which were called new after his time. The observation, for example, that sensations do not exist in objects but in our intellect, although Plato pointed it out and it appears new in modern philosophy, Sarpi demonstrates in a series of arguments which fully convince without other proofs; holding with Aristotle, that all we have in the intellect comes from or through the senses, in fact, he brings into the field the principle of reflection which has done so much honor to Locke and which frees this system of many difficulties hitherto insurmountable. Thus from the primary ideas proceeding from the senses by means of the intellectual or distinctive, Sarpi forms all the others which are employed by the English author and divides into simple and compound. Our philosopher does not omit one, and anticipates him also in his definition of *substance*, inasmuch as he makes it to result from the multiplicity of ideas which are shown without our being able to know the foundation which sustains them. This occult foundation he says is properly what we call *substance*. He also shows the mode in which genera and species are formed in the mind, on which Locke enlarges so much, particularly in the first chapters of his work on the Human Understanding.

" What he says of axioms, called by him Ipolipsi (one cannot say why, if there be not an error in the MS.) he says also of first truths and of syllogisms, and this appears to be the source from whence Locke has copied or amplified his ideas. He examines the various causes of error

which either arise from referring the object to a sensation not its own, or from some particular defect in the sensorium, or from the discursive or other faculties, and he moreover teaches how to shun errors as far as human nature can do so. One remedy is, the repeated use of the discursive faculty, or of the senses, and here he notes, men should be careful how they associate ideas, because it often happens that an idea called forth is accompanied by others, for the simple reason that we have been accustomed to their union, not on account of any such relation subsisting between them. The other method to correct error, Sarpi says, is the information of others, he touches on the two modes of argumentation, demonstration and probability, on the various degrees of which belief depends. These two remedies are followed by the means by which those errors may be avoided which he considers to arise from preconceived opinions, from bad disposition of the will, a point which has been more largely treated by others.

"In fine, our author does not take for granted, but deduces from true principles the Aristotelian system, and anticipates Locke by many years, by a method which even in the present day would have its admirers, and that with a brevity which detracts nothing from its lucidity. He concludes with a few apposite remarks on words, and this is one of the most essential parts of the work of Locke, that they do not signify things but only the ideas of the speaker, regarding which we are unable to furnish proof as this part of the work is not forth coming."

This passage, having been deemed striking by several learned philosophers, has been given entire, it is however beyond our limits to enter upon a retrospective view of the philosophy of the sixteenth century in Italy, but any one conversant with the subject must know the enormous difficulties with which Sarpi had to contend. The freer political state of Italy, and genius which would not be daunted were but clearing the way to investigation over which the sable curtain of the dark ages had cast its ample folds. But it was no easy task for Sarpi and Galileo to be the pioneers on a road so rugged, and no traveller on a benighted way could have been more gladdened by the light of the rising sun, than was Sarpi when a sounder system of philosophy than had hitherto prevailed was restored, and in some points introduced by himself and Galileo. They facilitated inquiry to their successors as well as to their contemporaries, of whom the illustrious Lord Bacon was one of the most distinguished, and with whom Sarpi held correspondence. There were two sections of philosophers at the University of Padua, so well known as scarcely to need mention, Acquapendente, Mercuriale, Prospero Alpino, and Santorio. The opposing party was Piccolomini, Bartolozzi, Prevocio and Cremonino.

These last taught or believed the philosophy of Plato and Aristotle, but

mingled with "the dark riddles" of their Arabic Commentators, and the singular hypothesis of Pietro d'Aibano called the "Conciliatore," and those of Campanella, Pomponacius, and others who had introduced Cabalisticism and Rabbinicalism. It is sufficient to state here, that the opinions of the antagonistic party were strongly opposed to the philosophy of Sarpi and Galileo.

It must not be omitted that during this year, Cardinal San Severina honored Sarpi with an autograph letter, in which he told him that he had recommended him to the Pope for the Bishopric of Melopotamo. This is honorable to that prelate, and it is a curious fact that the stern head of the Inquisition at Rome was earnest to promote the good and tolerant *Fra Paolo*; but Clement VIII had no intention to bestow preferment upon him. He was much occupied with the Jesuits, who ever since 1581 had under Aquaviva embarked on the rough sea of politics. Gifted with great talents and keen knowledge of human nature, Aquaviva formed high notions for the aggrandizement of his Order. "That society was saints before, compared with what they were in the time of Aquaviva," writes Sarpi, and their own historians have failed to show that the General and his Order did not meddle with state affairs, or that they did not foment rebellion and sedition.

Lainez had greatly advanced their power, but it was little compared with what they acquired under Aquaviva. Some of the members remonstrated, and at the instance of Father Tayre a learned Scot, Aquaviva called a General Convocation of the Jesuits, and a decree was passed at Roma to interdict their interference in state affairs, on the fourth of November: "To the end that we may abstain from all that may appear evil, and that we may obviate as much as possible all complaints or false suspicions that may rise against us, we command to all our society, by virtue of their holy obedience, and under the penalty of their being declared incapable of all offices, dignities, superiorities, or of losing their votes or suffrages, either active or passive, that none presume in any matter whatsoever, or at the desire or request of others, to meddle with the public negotiations of secular princes, and we strictly enjoin and recommend to all Superiors that they permit none of the society to involve themselves in any manner in such affairs, and if they find any of them inclined that way, that they immediately transport them to some other country, if they see that there is reason or danger of being entangled in such difficulties."¹ But little attention was paid to this injunction, the Jesuits pursued their political schemes, and what was worse, leant to the heretical opinions of Molina.²

¹ Ribaden. Cat. scrip. Sos. Jes.

² Published 1588.

In 1584 Aquaviva published his rule of studies, and from that may be dated their further recedence from the doctrines of Saint Thomas and the Dominicans; although Aquaviva leant more to the opinions of Molina than any other of the Jesuits, still the charge of "novelty" in doctrine imputed to them by Sarpi is fully borne out by their disputations with the Dominicans at Valladolid, which were but the commencement of the celebrated controversy on free will held before Clement VIII.¹

It is now time to turn to the fact announced by M. Montmorency to the Pope, that Henry IV, King of France had entered the communion of the Church of Rome,² and in "the hope of reforming it," had unwittingly and unwillingly succumbed to a foreign power. But the Pope still refused to grant him absolution; the King had triumphed over his enemies in the field, but he had hidden foes; Sarpi did not misjudge the Jesuits. All Europe was startled by the tidings of an attempt on the life of the King by Jean Chastel, who had imbibed the doctrines held by some of that society, that it was lawful to assassinate a monarch who was not of the dominant Church. That the King knew from whence this blow proceeded is evidenced by the following letter copied from the original in his own hand writing.³

LETTRE DU ROI A M. DU PLESSIS.

De Janvier 5. 1595.

Je suis du tout géri de ma blessure, ce sont là des fruits des Jésuites, guary
mais ils videront mon roiaume.

à Paris.

Le 5 Janvier 1595 HENRY

(escrie de la main de sa majesté).

The King of France recovered from his wound, but the Jesuits were banished from the kingdom, a precedent which the Venetians assisted by the counsels of Sarpi were not slow in aftertimes to imitate.

After much delay, and having been warned that he might lose the allegiance of France altogether if he persevered in his conduct to her monarch, Clement granted absolution to Henry IV, and the ceremony of his reception by proxy into the communion of the Church at Rome presented a humiliating sight to Europe, as it showed to what height the

¹ 1598.

² MS. Binda Papers. 1598, and MSS. Bib. Imp.

³ MS. Bib. Imperial, Paris.

power of the Pope had risen. But unfortunately for herself France did not then, as she will not now, believe that the Pope is only Bishop of Rome.¹

There were hours of sadness at Venice, The Doge Cicogna, whose probity had made him universally respected, died and was buried with the accustomed ceremonial which it may not be uninteresting to describe.

The body was embalmed, and clothed in the gorgeous state robes of crimson and gold, the ducal crown encircled the head, the baton of office was placed in the hand, and golden spurs on the feet of the dead. The body lay in state, and guards from the arsenal stood around.

vogo
On the evening of the day on which the Doge died, the corpse was borne to the Salle Pioogo, and placed on a sumptuous catafalque, around which large lighted torches blazed, and there it remained for three days. Some of the senators attended, attired in their robes of state; and on the fourth day the funeral of the Doge took place. The procession which accompanied the body to the tomb was then formed.

The regular and secular clergy, six bodies of the scuole grandi, S. Marco, S. Rocco, S. Teodoro, della Passione, each carrying a lighted torch; the heads of the navy and arsenal; the grand standard of the Doge, with his armorial bearings; the bier on which lay the body of the Doge covered with a pall, the cordons borne by men of high degree; servants clothed in black; the commandori of the palace; the secretary of the chancellor; the chancellor; the counsellors of the signory; the ambassadors; to the left, the senators in their senatorial robes of crimson; on the right, the relations of the Doge habited in black mantles.

Of this vast assemblage one half preceded the bier, the other half followed, and the procession closed by young girls and children from the divers hospitals, each bearing a lighted torch.

This procession went by S. Marco. The bearers raised the coffin nine times into the air as high as they possibly could before the great door of the ducal chapel of S. Marco, that the body might render a sort of homage to this church. Then the remains of the Doge Cicogna were borne to the church of S. Giuseppe, where the body was again placed on a very high catafalque, covered with a pall, and surrounded by an immense number of lights. A fine tomb was afterwards placed over the grave.

The Doge Cicogna was succeeded by Marino Grimani, and joy and festivity were again visible throughout Venice.

It was customary on state occasions to bear eight embroidered standards before the Doge, two white, two red, two blue, and two green. If at peace the standard bearers walked first and bore white, if at war, red, if

¹ Appendix

leagued with any foreign power, blue, and if in truce green. The new Doge was popular, and the pure white standard which floated before him made all hearts glad, because it told that peace was concluded with Turkey.

Clement took every opportunity to flatter Henry IV, in the hope of being able to restore the Jesuits to France, but as yet the King would not listen. Clement, however, showed his power in a way which Fra Paolo lamented most bitterly. The prohibition on books continued, and although the Council of Ten made exceptions to the stringent measures of the Popes as to this deadly blight over religion and literature, it often drew from Sarpi a strong protest which certainly ought to claim the acknowledgment of his countrymen. There is no doubt but that his voice, which reechoes through the lapse of ages, has helped to unbar the bolts and bars of the Inquisition on those volumes, which but for ignorance would have been eagerly sought after then.¹

However, amidst war and discord abroad, fears of papal interference at home, and the prolonged disturbances within his own Order, Fra Paolo enjoyed peace, and that peace was not broken either by Gabriello or San Severina, notwithstanding the untoward events which follow. About this time a friar, Giovanni Battista Pernigino, who had been guilty of several delinquencies, fled to Venice that he might escape punishment by order of the General. Battista was a man of great cunning, and had been surnamed *Lagrimino*, because he had always tears at command. He had no need of concealment, because having fled from the General, he was welcome to Gabriello the Provincial. In order to make money, Lagrimino procured a license from the Nuncio to practise exorcism, as was the custom of many friars who, unwilling to obey the rules of their Orders, took to this way of life to advance their interests.

“ Amongst other adventures, our Lagrimino attended the wife of a tradesman at the sign of the Gallo in the Merceria, and had not only been long in attendance upon her, but had exorcised her in church and at her own house. Shortly after, her husband missed a large quantity of satins and other valuable stuffs, and his apprentice confessed that the friar had taken a great part of these articles, with the knowledge of his wife, to Gabriello the Provincial of the Servi, and no small quantity to the Court of the Papal Nuncio. And so the mystery was solved. It was in vain that the General insisted that Lagrimino was an apostate and deserved imprisonment, neither Gabriello nor the Nuncio would listen to him, but called him a “Persecutor.” The tradesman, Mazaro, related the above matter to one of the Servi, and a deed was drawn out which was taken to Rome by the General, where Gabriello then was. The General carried

¹ Appendix.

the case before the Governor at Rome, who seeing the scandal and not aware that Gabriello was in such favor, committed him to prison. I can hardly believe that San Severina was ever in such a passion, but those of the highest as well as those of the lowest rank are equally subject to such aberrations. He screamed, stamped with his feet, cursed and went to and from the Pope to the Governor, but he could not obtain Gabriello's release from prison for several days. The Cardinal San Severina soon perceived the impossibility of creating Gabriello General in the Chapter about to be held at Rome, but he placed him under arrest and kept him in prison in S. Maria, and San Severina took such violent measures against the Order of the Servi, as no one but an eye witness could have believed. After this a Chapter was held at Verona, and Priuli Bishop of Vicenza was nominated President. He had great judgment and prudence, yet not knowing what side to take, he listened to the faction which had espoused the part of the Cardinal, and was persuaded to consent to an innovation which was, that the Rector would admit sbirri into the convent. This was done under pretence of keeping order, but in reality to intimidate the other party by their presence. This only caused greater opposition, and the Chapter, which generally held its sitting for one day only, sat for eight days. And these sbirri (seeing that all was quiet; that there were only eight friars unarmed, they had not even their knives) laid down their guns, and left them carelessly in the cloister, went to the cellars to drink, made free with the stores of the convent, or spent their time in sport on the Mount. The friars were sorely chafed to see such a company of idlers consume the goods of the convent, judging that a proceeding so unusual would bring great scandal on their community. And the language of the soldiers was very aggravating: they told the friars that, if they did not yield soon to the Cardinal, they would be thrown into prison, sent to the galleys, or otherwise disposed of. The climax of this unhappy affair was, that the Bishop arrived one evening at the Monastery of the Mount from Vicenza bearing a papal brief that of his Presidentship. This brief was dispatched from Rome to Vicenza in less than forty hours, empowering the President to expel the papal Vicar-General from the Chapter, and to suspend, transfer, or prolong the Chapter as he, the Bishop, judged proper. There were those who smiled that no less than two papal briefs were required for a matter of such small moment as the holding of a Chapter, and that not only the Pope took part in the comedy, but a Cardinal, with the authority of S. Peter and S. Paul.

"The faction, so highly favoured by Rome, entered the convent in triumph. Two swords were carried before them, with exclamations more like those of the worst class of people than men of a religious Order. This occasioned so great a change in matters that that night, the doors being

open, a party of young men introduced a number of braves, Vicentini with whom they held intelligence, into the chambers of the friars. This was done in great silence; and these young men were resolved, when the Chapter met next morning in the refectory, to attack the sbirri who were about forty in number, and to revenge their insults.

"Fra Paolo had attended the Chapter held at the Monastery of the Mount, near Vicenza. He was an eye-witness of all these provocations; but such was the respect of these infuriated men for him, that the only reason for their not taking arms against their foes was that they wished some one to communicate their design to F. Paolo."

Fra Fulgenzio believed "that he had insight into their designs: however, this one thing is certain, that he had the fatigue and anxiety of being on the watch the greater part of the night, to some using the language of entreaty, to others that of command, while he endeavoured to enlighten all as to the danger which they would evoke, the trifling nature of the matters in question, and the scandal which it would bring upon the Order; but it was chiefly veneration for his authority that stilled the storm."

What a picture! all these despardoes quieted by the calm of wise and holy rectitude; one amongst many proofs which Fra Paolo gave, that "greater is he that ruleth his spirit, than he that taketh a city." Without such words of judgment and forgiveness, the sun would have dawned upon bloodshed, and the Convent on the Mount, instead of being remembered as that place where Fra Paolo led captive by his counsel men bent on revenge, might have been chronicled as a place where the Friars of the Servi had fallen in dark vengeance on their foes.

But Fra Paolo, having examined the cause of these contests narrowly, saw that there was necessity for more stringent measures. He knew of no other mode to abolish division, but to go to Rome.

This was a bold resolve. The letter in cypher before mentioned was a hindrance, and by the manner in which it is noticed by Fulgenzio appears not to have been forgotten by Fra Paolo; indeed he consulted his friends on the danger of going to Rome, as he was likely to incur the displeasure of the Cardinal San Severina, who was still the Head of the Congregation of the Holy Office, and as some considered the election of San Severina to the Papedom to be valid, the Pope Clement allowed the Cardinal to do as he pleased. The friends of Fra Paolo, however, were of opinion that it would not be dangerous for him to go to Rome; but he smilingly related the fable of the prudent fox, who on the proclamation of banishment against all the horned animals hid himself, saying if the lion mistook his ears for horns who could defend him, Nevertheless he resolved to go.

Though he was wont to be as confident in Divine Providence as if

second causes were of no moment, yet he was provided by his friends with letters to the Venetian Ambassador at Rome, and to many of the great Prelates at the Court; he also wrote to the Cardinal d'Ascoli with whom he had always corresponded, and the Cardinal advised Fra Paolo to go to Rome.

For the fifth time therefore he took up his residence there, and the first notice given of the events which then took place is the mention of a general Chapter of the Order of the Servi, in which as the Cardinal San Severina could not succeed in the appointment of Gabriello as General, he bestowed the Generalship on an old priest who had been shut up in his chamber for fifteen years, and was reputed a saint. This ecclesiastic did not wish Gabriello to succeed him, and he bitterly offended San Severina by addressing a letter to him in which he blamed him for all the ill he had done to the Order, crowning it all by wishing to raise a scoundrel to the Generalship, but what touched San Severina to the heart was, that he said he had not written to the Cardinal till after long consideration and special inspiration of the Holy Ghost. On which San Severina exclaimed in the Neapolitan dialect, " Tu menti Santorello. Thou tellest not the truth etc. "

'The General was called to Rome where he shortly after died, some said by his being overheated by his visits to the seven Churches, a penance then common, others assigned a different reason.

But Fra Paolo endeavored to mollify the Cardinal San Severina when in conversation with him, and fortunately only two subjects were mooted, the one that Fra Paolo had joined and fomented the late disputes, the other that he would not be reconciled to Gabriello. To these Paolo answered " that he wished reconciliation, that as Lelio was created Provincial and General by him, and as he favored him, he had always wished his friendship, and had corresponded with him on all that he thought was for the service of God and of religion, that he considered that it was his duty to honor one who was raised above others, without any curious enquiry as to the reasons why it was done, and that if things were changed, it was accidental. As to his having excited the General, as the Cardinal had complained of Lelio's impetuosity, Fra Paolo told him that he was sure all this was at the instigation of others, that the Cardinal had both discernment and prudence, and that he knew when he saw a carriage pass whether the carriage drew the horses or they it." Upon this the Cardinal appeared satisfied, told Fra Paolo he had observed his conduct, and wished that he and Gabriello were friends. This the Cardinal effected, and thus for a time peace was restored. Fra Paolo returned from Rome to his Convent at Venice, but with some aggravation of his bodily disorders; happily however he obtained relief by his knowledge of medicine and sur-

gery, and during the following years, though always weak in body, he was in better health than previously.

His devotion to his religious duties and conversations with the learned continued. He wrote notes on Aristotle and Plato, Fra Fulgenzio supposes with the idea of embodying them in some future work; he also examined the opinions of the schoolmen, nominalists as well as realists. And these notes all displayed what riches were hidden in that intellectual mine. "He also continued the study of the most abstruse parts of mathematics and physics." ¹

Both he and his learned friends experienced a severe loss in the death of Aldus Manutius, whose fine library, which he wished to bequeath to Venice and which contained 80,000 volumes, was entered on his death by command of the Pope, and the most valuable part of them carried away and now occupy the shelves of the Vatican. It was alleged that Manutius had incurred a debt to the Pope by receiving part of his salary as Librarian of the Vatican in advance, and this was the pretext for that unjust measure; but Fra Paolo must have obtained all that he required from the Vatican and other libraries of Rome at this period, as he never again visited that City. But if there was injustice at Rome, there were gleams of toleration elsewhere across the dark sky of bigotry. Henry IV promulgated the edict of Nantes at the head of his victorious troops; the air had often resounded with the voice of triumph, but what was that triumph compared with the grateful acclamations of the Reformed who learned that the stake, the gibbet, the rack, the noisome dungeon, the heavy chains, and the still heavier pangs of separation from all they held dear would no longer be theirs.

Let the reader now turn from the pleasure with which the heart of Paolo Sarpi thrilled at these tidings to the death of Philip II, who was succeeded by his son Philip III, "a pious prince, but one who did not apply himself to business and was content with the outward signs of royalty." To Clement, Europe was chiefly indebted for the peace of Verviers, but he obliged Henry IV to give up his alliance with England, this King was gradually becoming more reconciled to the Jesuits, many of whom had evaded his commands and remained in France. The Spaniards restored what they had taken since 1559, the disputes of Savoy and France terminated, with the exception of the Pope's schemes against the Turks there appeared more prospect of a general peace.

Fra Paolo, as usual, was absorbed in study, and for some time only met with two interruptions, accompanying Leonardo Mocenigo to Ferrara, and

¹ MS.

examining the controversy which was being then carried on between the Dominicans and the Jesuits " on the efficacy of divine grace."

Fra Fulgenzio observes that Sarpi would not open his lips on the subject, that is as to his taking part in the discussion, but that he examined it at the request of M. Ippolito da Lucca is proved by his friend Bedell, Bishop of Kilmore's letter. Having mentioned the propositions of Molina opposed by the Dominicans, and the letters of ~~Ippolito~~ de Monte Peloso, he adds: " I have sent Dr. Ward the originals which Fra Paolo gave me upon occasion of speech with him touching that controversy, reserving no copy to myself; the occasion was the contention of the Jesuits and Dominicans before Clement VIII, and all those letters were week by week sent from Rome to Padre Paolo of the carriage of the business. When you find a trusty messenger I desire you to send me them." All trace of these MSS. is at present lost, but his opinions on this subject may be gathered from a short analysis noticed by Bergantini. These opinions were in direct opposition to those held by the Jesuits, to whom neither the Pope nor his nephew bent; both, with great blandness of manner but inflexibility of purpose, carried all before them, while Aquaviva the General of the Jesuits acted independently, and employed all his talent to secure the return of his Order to France.

Clement frankly confessed they were beyond his ken, however Fra Paolo tells us: " There is a Scotchman here who says he understands the Jesuits, he must be very clever." Notwithstanding the Pope's dislike to them, he did not overlook the talents of Bellarmine, and Fra Paolo saw him elevated to a position which afforded him great opportunity of advancing his Order. If Paolo felt anger on the promotion of Bellarmine to the dignity of a Cardinal before he had himself attained to that office, however wrong, it would have been natural, but no such failing on the part of Sarpi is recorded, although Clement on conferring this honor on Bellarmine ¹ said: " Hunc eligimus quia parem non habet in ecclesia quoad doctrinam." Many of the Cardinals lived in great state and were daily acquiring greater power. To their luxurious mode of living, however, there were great exceptions, and amongst these may be named Bellarmine and Baronius. Sarpi was too conversant with such matters not to know that the dignity of Cardinal was unknown to the primitive Church, he traced this evil to its source, and left these words of instruction which we extract from his treatise on ecclesiastical benefices.

" I come now to Italy, where for many ages no one was ordained to the priesthood, who had not at the same time some particular cure assigned him, unless in the case of some eminent one for piety and learning, who would not accept the care of any parish at his ordination, that might di-

¹ Paulin Ep. I, ad Severum num. 10.

vert him from his sacred studies. S. Jerome and S. Paulinus were thus ordained priests, one at Antioch, the other at Barcelona, and except on this occasion, antiquity knew no distinction between ordination and a benefice which was always assigned him, and which gave a right to be entertained out of the common stock of the Church. But when churchmen of merit happened by the calamities of war to be driven from their ministry and received into other churches, where they were maintained out of the common purse, in the same manner with the clergy of the place; as any vacancy happened, by death or otherwise, it was filled by one of the strange clergy, who, being thus provided for, was called *Incardinatus*,¹ and he who stepped into a ministry, having none before, was called *Ordinatus*.

" This custom began in Italy before the year 600, when many Bishops and other clergymen were plundered and driven from their cures, by the ravages of the Lombards, and were thus replaced in other churches, as they became vacant.

" The Bishops were called *Episcopi Cardinales* and the Priests *Presbyteri Cardinales*.²

" Now, the greatest part of those who were so driven from their own churches, betaking themselves to those of Rome and Ravenna, which were the richest, and had the most employments in the ministry to give, and these strangers, finding a welcome reception there, both in regard of the abundance in those churches, and of the great concourse it drew to them of the most eminent persons of all kinds (which we see continued to this day), it rarely happened that any of their own people were ordained, but commonly strangers. And this was the reason, why in these two churches all who had any ministry were called *Cardinales*. A name which still remains in the Church of Rome, but not in the Church of Ravenna, which Paul III abrogated in the year 1543.

" Thus, the name of *Cardinal*," continues Fra Paolo, " which was at first derived from a very low and abject condition, is, by a change of signification, become a title so elevated, that *Cardinals* are now said to be *Quasi Cardines omnium terrarum*. And that which at first was no degree or order in the Church, but introduced by mere accident of calamity, is exalted to that pitch of human grandeur and dignity, of which we see it in possession at this day. But whoever will look into the most celebrated Councils at *Rome*, will find that the *Cardinal Roman* Priests in their public writings have always signed under the *Italian* Bishops; and that even in after times no Bishop was made a *Cardinal* Priest.

¹ Admitted into a Society, transferred or transplanted.

² *Liber Diurnus summ. Pontif. Tit. II, cap. III.*

" The first Bishops who were made Cardinals were persons of note who had been driven from their churches; for instance Conrad, Bishop of Mentz, who having been treated as a rebel by the Emperor Frederic I, was received with open arms by Pope Alexander III, and made Cardinal of S. Sabin. In these days, and until the time of Pope Innocent IV, the Cardinals wore no habit, nor any mask of distinction. He gave them the red hat on Christmas eve in the year 1244, and Paul II added the red cap to be worn by all the Cardinals, except such as were Monks or Regulars; yet to these also it has since been granted by Gregory XIV. We have thought a short deduction of this splendid Order from the original necessary in this place, as it concerns so eminent a dignity which at this day holds the second place in the Church, and for which the world seems not to afford titles pompous enough. " ¹

But to return. The Senate had learned from the dictates of Clement that he purposed more than to forbid all Italians to travel into countries peopled by heretics and so it proved.

The following year was still marked by papal aggression, and with the keen eye of an accomplished observer, Fra Paolo saw the Pope making fresh demands on the Republic. Her newly appointed Patriarch was summoned to Rome to receive approval, examination and consecration from Clement, and after much artful dealing on the part of the Papal Nuncio, the Patriarch was obliged to wait upon the Pontiff; but he was not permitted to receive either appointment or examination at his hands; yet the Venetian Senate proceeded cautiously, afraid lest Spain might call in the aid of Rome to crush Venetia. It was well for her, ere days of greater pressure on the part of Rome came, that the throne of Spain was filled by King Philip III, who had neither the talents nor bigotry of Philip II. While great preparations were making for the approaching jubilee, the Republic was occupied with the marriage of King Henry IV. One of the house of the Medici was likely to secure the interest of France for Italy, but in the press of public affairs of great moment the Senate at length thought of the weal of Fra Paolo, who at the age of forty eight was still unhonored by any ecclesiastical dignity or preferment.

The small Bishopric of Caorle was vacant, and on the suggestion of some of his friends in the Senate, Fra Paolo applied for it. It was of little value and generally given to a friar. Its 6,000 inhabitants would have had the supervision of an able teacher, who might have carried out his ideas of reformation in the Church, but Offredi, the Papal Nuncio, wished to have it for his Confessor. He therefore wrote to Rome and informed that Court that Fra Paolo had given counsels to the Senate which

¹ Trattato delle Mater Benef. Opere di Sarpi, Tom. II, p. 19. Ed. fol. 1750.

were inimical to the interests of the Pope, that he did not believe in the philosophy of Aristotle, and advised that it should not be taught in the University of Padua without restriction, that in the Academy of the Morosini he had denied the immortality of the soul, and concluded by recommending his Confessor, de Gregis. Offredo had greatly misrepresented the opinions of Sarpi with regard to the immortality of the soul, and it may be here remarked of those who now call him an atheist that they are strong partizans of the Curia, not those who have perused his works, or they would recognize not only his learning and talents, but his enlightened opinions on liberty of conscience, and his thorough faith in the truths of the Christian religion.

Prejudice against him ought not to exist, either as to disbelief in the immortality of the soul, or as to his being an atheist; in his treatise on toleration, presented by him to the Senate, he distinctly pronounces an atheist "to be the only subject of a state who ought not to be tolerated;" and not a line nor a word has ever been seen by the writer of these pages, throughout the unpublished folios of his MSS. or of his printed works, which prove aught else but that Sarpi regarded the worship of God, not only as a duty but as the highest of all wisdom. The fact alone that atheism has generally been professed by persons of shallow understanding might have shielded Sarpi from such an aspersion.

The Nuncio Offredi was blameable, and if such misrepresentations were made by him as to questions of theology and philosophy, assuredly it was so in other matters; thus it was apparent that even at the Morosini learned men could not express their opinions without the liability of misrepresentation by a Nuncio.

The head of that assembly was appointed superintendent of the Secreto Senato; this year was also memorable for the death of Pinelli of Padua, who was universally lamented by men of literature. The fate of his fine library must have cost regret to those who like Sarpi had valued its volumes; it was sent to Naples in three vessels, one was taken by a corsair, and the greater part of the books and MSS. were thrown into the sea by the ignorant pirates; the lading of the other two vessels was destined for those ill able to appreciate it, but the Cardinal Frederic Borromeo, on finding the remains of Pinelli's library in a garret, placed them in the Ambrosian library which he founded at Milan.

But though the house of Pinelli was no longer open, Fra Paolo still went to Padua, and held communication with Acquapendente and others. In a curious old engraving, a representation of part of the interior of the College, there is a view of the School of Anatomy, a skeleton

is being dissected, and from the galleries the dissection might be seen.¹ This Anatomical Theatre was designed by Fra Paolo Sarpi, as also a palace in Padua; his opportunities for the study of architecture were great, if we consider that he could daily watch what was then considered one of the wonders of the world, the building of the Rialto, as well as the churches and palaces designed by Palladio and Sansovino, and when at Rome had his taste gratified and instructed by the masterly efforts of the great Florentine whose piety cast a halo around his genius, in his great works at Rome, Vénice and Florence.

It was not long before another opportunity occurred which promised preferment to Fra Paolo, but Clement refused to sanction such an act. His letter to the Senate and their recommendation of him are given, as they show what was the reason of his demand for the small Bishopric of Nona.

“ Most Serene Prince, Most Illustrious and Most Excellent Signory.

“ Your Serene Highness and their Most Excellent Signory were pleased when the Bishopric of Caorle was vacant last year, to dispatch letters of recommendation for me, Fra Paolo, of the Servi in Vénice, to your illustrious Ambassador at Rome, for the purpose of procuring that charge for me, and which through the great kindness of your Serene Highness I should have obtained, had it not been for the intervention of Monsig Reverendissimo Nuncio of His Holiness who wished to obtain it for his Confessor.

“ The Bishopric of Nona is now vacant, and as I feel sure that you still maintain the same gracious dispositions toward me, I venture to renew my request that you would espouse my cause, and favour me with a recommendation to your illustrious Ambassador.

“ I desire this for no other reason than to have time and opportunity to attend with more leisure to my studies, and to show on every possible occasion with what reverence and sincerity I am the servant of the Most Serene State, of which I have always professed myself to have been, and which I ever will be, while the Lord God preserves my life, and commend myself to your Serenity and to your Excellencies....”

This was followed by a letter from the Senate to the Ambassador from Vénice to the Court of Rome.

“ 1602, 17th April, in Pregadi.

“ The Bishop of Nona being dead, and we having learned that R. P. M. Paolo, of the Order of the Servi, has requested our recommendation to obtain the Bishopric of Nona, and he being held in

¹ British Museum.

great esteem, not only in this city but throughout Italy, and well-known to many illustrious Cardinals, as Procurator General of his Order, of acknowledged worth and exemplary life, of which qualities His Holiness is well aware, we cannot doubt your good offices with His Holiness, as to the recommendation of this Padre, who has no other desire to obtain this charge than to pursue his studies, free from discharging the duties of his Order. And this, being so small a matter, we feel certain that it is easy of attainment. It is not only pressing, but merits attention. Will you acquaint the Cardinal nephew with the above in our name" etc.

The man, who again and again craved the lives of his murderers, was not one who would retain rancour in his heart. It was, and it is well, that spirits like Dante, like Petrarch, like Fra Paolo Sarpi should sound an alarm within the bosom of the Church of Rome. Where are the threats of the foes of Fra Paolo now? Withered as the blade of grass which drooped and died in its first bloom. Where is his memory, and where are his works? The former fresh as the fragrant flowers of each successive season, the latter valued by all who value what is of worth; and why is this? Because he was more engrossed with the worship of the Saviour, than with the forms and ritual of that worship. In those whom the Pope called "heretics," Fra Paolo discerned believers in the faith of the true Church of God. In an age of intolerance, he loved them, he welcomed them to his cell, he corresponded with them. It cost him dear, but what was the rule of a Bishopric, in comparison with being a tolerant advocate for a restitution of the Holy Scriptures to the people: if it were not in the power of Fra Paolo to carry reformation further than he did, he began it, and left an example to his countrymen to follow.

The year opened with great severity, the cold was so intense as to make Fra Paolo pleasantly observe, "that in reading, the letters seemed to freeze ere they reached his sight," ¹ nevertheless, he continued to study; and refers with satisfaction to the work of Gilbert, concerning which Mr. Hallam remarks, "The year 1600, was the first in which England saw a remarkable work in physical science, but sufficient to raise a lasting reputation to its author. Gilbert a physician, in his Latin treatise ² on the magnet, not only collected all the knowledge which others had collected on the subject, but became at once the father of experimental knowledge in this Island, and by a singular felicity and acuteness of genius, the founder of theories which have been revived after the lapse of

¹ Letter MS. Marciana, 1603.

² *De Magnete, magnetisque corporibus.*

ages, and are almost universally received into the creed of science" and again, "Sarpi, who will not be thought an incompetent judge, names Gilbert and Vieta as the only original writers among his contemporaries on these subjects."

Such were his studies amid the turmoil of outward events, but he was still sanguine; experience and the cold blights of a long life had not yet deadened hope. Sarpi anticipated benefit from the reformed Grisons, notwithstanding the strong party there in favor of Spain and the Pope, the government made a league with Venetia, but it was afterwards dissolved.

About this time the Cardinal San Severina died, and notwithstanding the terror with which he had inspired others, the integrity of Fra Paolo stood unwithered before the fiery glance of the Head Inquisitor. The temper of Severina, stern as it was, melted in the genial atmosphere Fra Paolo breathed. No other Cardinal, as far as is known, ever proposed Sarpi as worthy of preferment. But he heard worse tidings. In the month of September, Henry IV permitted the Jesuits to re-establish themselves in his kingdom. This was regretted by many true Catholics, and not a little by Fra Paolo, yet he had some consolation in learning that the relations of England and Venetia were about to be renewed.

The Pope had not recognized the English Queen, and the Republic of Venice resisted all the royal appeals to send an envoy. At length the Secretary, Scaramelli was sent to England to demand redress for the injuries done to the trade of the Republic, but he arrived only six weeks before the death of Queen Elizabeth. On the succession of James I, King of Great Britain and Ireland, he immediately sent an Ambassador to the Court of Venice, Sir Henry Wotton, whose piety, learning, good manners and intimate acquaintance with the Italian language made him welcome at the Court of the Doge Grimani.

Sir Henry was well known to Sarpi, as also his Chaplain Bedell, but he did not go to Venice till 1607, and the estimation in which Sarpi was held is thus described by the learned Dr. Sanderson, Bishop of Lincoln, to whom it was a cause of regret that he had not accompanied the English Ambassador to Venice. "O that I had gone as Chaplain to that excellently accomplished gentleman, your friend Sir Henry Wotton, which was once intended when he went first Ambassador to the State of Venice; for by that employment I had been forced into a necessity of conversing, not with him only, but with several men of several nations; and might thereby have kept myself from my unmanly bashfulness, which has proved very troublesome and not less inconvenient to me; and which I now fear is be-

come so habitual as never to leave me; and besides by that means, I might also have known, or at least have had the satisfaction of seeing one of the late miracles of mankind for general learning, prudence, and modesty, Sir Henry Wotton's dear friend Padre Paolo, who, the author of his life says, was born with a bashfulness as invincible as I have found my own to be: A man whose fame must never die till virtue and learning shall become so useless as not to be regarded.”¹

The extreme modesty of Fra Paolo must not, however, be mistaken for bashfulness, if awkwardness, the usual attendant on bashfulness, be implied. “He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity,” wrote Sir Henry Wotton, but although thoughtful and retiring, he was neither awkward or morose, his manners bore the stamp of high breeding. His cheerfulness is frequently noticed by Fulgenzio, he was an eager and ready listener, but ever ready to impart his own knowledge, and ever with deference. He spoke little, but what he spoke was always sententious and pithy, but not sarcastic.

It has been observed that he was acquainted with M. de Thou, the learned and tolerant historian of France, the first part of whose work was now published, and he sent copies to Fra Paolo, and to the Cardinals de Joyense, d'Ossat, and Aquaviva, General of the Jesuits, who wrote in the highest praise of it to the author, saying that they placed it immediately after the works of Sallust and Tacitus. He also sent a copy to M. Canaye, the French Ambassador at Venice, to be presented to the Doge and Senate, which was not done.

But M. de Thou had censured Julius II, Paul III, and had spoken too well of the German Reformers, and of one of their number he had written, “*that he had passed to a better life.*” This sentence he was obliged to change, but notwithstanding this, the book was afterwards prohibited, to the grief of Fra Paolo, who deplored the intolerance thus displayed.

¹ Life of Bp. Sanderson, p. 475. Zouch.

CHAPTER VI.

A.D. 1605 — A.D. 1606.

DOGES OF VENICE. Marino Grimani.
1606. Leonardo Donato.

SOVEREIGNS OF GERMANY. Rodolph II.

France Henry IV GREAT BRITAIN. James I.

SPAIN. Philip III.

TURKEY. Achmet III.

POPES. Clement VIII. 1605. Leo. XI. Paul V.

Fra Paolo accused. — Leo XI. — Paul V. — MS. — Disputes of the Pope with the Republic. — Fra Paolo consulted. — Death of the Doge. — Leonardo Donato. — Fra Paolo appointed Theologian. — Sir H. Wotton gives information. — King James's proffers. — Protest. — Fra Paolo writes in favor of the Republic.

Fra Polo had still enemies amongst the Servi. After the death of Gabriello, his nephew Santo had hopes of obtaining the Generalship, but he was of the same opinion as his late uncle, that if he would rule the Province he must destroy the reputation of Fra Paolo; his attempts to effect this were preposterous, one was absurd. Amidst the indignation and laughter of the whole Chapter, the three following charges were lodged against Fra Paolo, that he wore a cap of the form forbidden by Gregory XIV, that he wore slippers cut after the French fashion, that he did not recite the Salve Regina at the end of the Mass.

Such are the statements of Fulgenzio; and in some respects they coincide with the acts of the Chapter held at Venice 1605, which were seen by Foscarini, in which the accusation as to the form of Fra Paolo's slippers was registered, but there was no mention either of the accusations respecting the form of his cap, or of his non-recital of the Salve Regina, for the recital was long since removed from the Servites in the reform of their Constitutions by Gregory XIII 1579, and was not restored again till the year 1639, by a bull of Urban VIII, after the death of Fra Paolo.¹

¹ Foscarini lib. III, p. 807.

These trivial allegations were all treated with the greatest contempt by the Vicar General, the President, and Provincial. By order of the judge, Fra Paolo's slippers were brought before the tribunal, and in place of his losing his votes in the Chapter, as his accusers had hoped he might do if it was proved that he wore slippers cut after the French fashion, the words then uttered in his defence passed into a proverb. "Padre Paolo is so faultless, that even his slippers have been canonized!" While judgment on these puerile accusations were pending Fra Paolo was silent, and Santo, in place of taking advice as Gabriello had counselled him to do, became so inflated by hopes of obtaining the Generalship, that he went to Rome, taking with him all that he could collect from his friends, besides 500 ducats belonging to the monastery, and having squandered all, died miserably.¹

While Fra Paolo's foes were plotting against him at Venice, the affairs of the Republic wore a gloomy aspect at Rome. Leo XI had succeeded Clement VIII, but having died shortly after, the French faction again triumphed in the Conclave, and the Venetian Ambassador informed the Senate that, "after a tedious and, if he might add, a scandalous contest," the Cardinal Borghese was elected Pope. The Cardinal du Perron's exalted opinion of him differs widely ~~to~~ from that from the pen of Sarpi in his History of the Interdict which was written by command.

from

" To M. de F. Canaye,
" Counsellor of the King and Ambassador to Venice.

" Sir,

" Though somewhat late, this letter will inform you, not only that we have a Pope, of that you must already have been informed, but that we have an excellent Pope, and one who is well affected to France, the Cardinal Borghese. His father was of the French faction, and having followed his party and the arms of France when Siena was taken by the Spanish, he took refuge in Rome, where this Pope was born, and when Cardinal he was, as he is, well inclined to the French interest, so that the Cardinal d'Ossat begged the Pope to send him to the King as Legate, to manage the affairs of Savoy. He had a pension from Spain which he received from the Pope Clement, who both desired and designed that he should one day be Pope, not only from his affection for France, but that his election would be for the general good. In fact, the French elected him Pope, excluding not only those who would have been chosen in his place, but those who would not affix their seal to the confirmation of his

¹ MS.

election, because the arbitration of his election having been put into the hands of the French by the Cardinals Montalto and Aldobrandini (who had agreed together to make Borghese Pope, if the French were agreeable to it), by their consent, he was created Pope.

"What he specially acknowledges is that God sent him the papal crown by means of the French, and he has written to the King to thank him. He is an angel whom the Holy Ghost has enthroned in the Holy Chair, and from whom, by God's help, all Christendom, especially France, will receive extraordinary edification; who, I pray Sir, to take you into his Holy Keeping

" your very affectionate Servant

(signed)

"*J. Cardinal du Perron.*

" Rome, 21 May 1605. "¹

As Sarpi was consulted even before the Pope issued his excommunication against the Republic, a notice of the principal incidents during the Interdict cannot be omitted in his biography. The MS. of the History of the Interdict is in the Marciana, the writing is by Fra Paolo's amanuensis, the corrections are his, as also the Index. His writing is extremely distinct, as in all his MSS., with the exception of some small note and commonplace books or diaries, which are written in very small character. At one time it was intended to send Paolo's MS. to France, but the Ambassador declined to receive it, and the History of the Interdict was not published till after Paolo's death by Mr. Bedell, in Latin.

It would have been well for Venice if Paul V had held lower views of his position, but to protect and augment what he deemed the immunities of the church was his object. As Pope, he believed he was raised by the Holy Ghost to the Vicegerency of Christ.

In person he was tall and majestic, his features were well formed, and before his elevation to the Pontificate his countenance beamed with benignity, nor was the appearance of humility wanting; he was of strict life, and prior to his election held little familiar intercourse with any, either of high or low degree; ² he was temperate in speech, but austere, and he discharged his duties with great exactitude and punctuality; latterly he had lived in deep retirement, and it is believed that his having abstained from all participation in the politics of the Court of Rome was the chief reason of his being raised to the Popedom. His first measures were very

¹ MS. Bib. Imp. Paris.

² Molin. Relazione R. Brown (Cornet).

severe, and his condemnation of Piccinardi made all tremble. Although several Ambassadors sued for the life of the unhappy man who had compared the government of Clement VIII and his nephew to that of Tiberius Cæsar, their intercession was lost, as the feeble voice of sea birds amidst the storm. Piccinardi was executed. This was a terrible beginning of a new reign, and affords an opportunity of judging of the temper and disposition of the Pope with whom Fra Paolo had to deal; his opinions were as widely removed from those of the Servite as the East is from the West. Paul and Paolo were of the same age, beyond this it would be difficult to trace any similitude. In the MS. of the Interdict the following is worthy of mark.

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X

“ Paolo quinto dalli primi anni della puerizia fu dedito e nodrito in quelli studi, ~~che~~ non 'acquisitare la monarchia *spirituale* e *temporale* di tutto il mondo al Pontefice Romano e avanzare l'ordine clericale.” The words “ *spirituale* ” and “ *temporale* ” are in the hand writing of Fra Paolo, and “ *avanzare* ” is substituted for “ *levare*; ” this, and what follows, may be thus translated. “ From his earliest years Paul V devoted himself to studies which had no other aim but the acquisition of the whole world temporal and spiritual to the Roman Pontiff, to advance the clergy above the power and jurisdiction of princes and their supremacy over kings, as well as the subjection of the secular to the ecclesiastical power.” In his maturer years the office of Auditor of the Chamber was peculiarly suited to him, the title of that magistrate being, “ *Sententiarum et censurarum intus et extra latarum Universalis Executor*, ” and during the five years which he held it, he issued more schedules and monitories than his predecessors had done in fifty. His anger was chiefly directed against the Republic of Venice, and Clement having somewhat relaxed his ecclesiastical rigor towards her, Paul wished to institute a Congregation at Rome for the special purpose of mortifying the secular power. To further this design he sent Nuncios of similar opinions to all Catholic princes. The Nuncio at Venice boasted of having said to the prince in college that alms and other works of piety were useless without ecclesiastical liberty; that although he had often heard of the piety of the Venetians, he had not seen it; that Christianity does not consist in alms and devotion, unless proof is given of it by the exaltation of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and that he had been sent to the Nunciature as a martyr to the Papacy, but this martyr was not without imperiousness, because to all remonstrance he answered, as if it were a formula, ‘ Here I am Pope, and only wish obedience.’ And Sarpi observes, “ that when he spoke of the Pope, he raised his cap, and called him *Nostro Signore*, but omitted to do so when he spoke of God.”

For several months after his elevation to the Papedom, Paul lived in

continual fear of death in consequence of the prognostic of an astrologer who told him after the death of Clement, of the election of Leo and of a Paul who would only live a short time; but his friends and relations found a remedy for his fears, they held a numerous assembly of the astrologers and soothsayers of Rome, and they came to the conclusion, that the fatal time being past, he would live long. Thus freed from his fear of death, Paul returned to his purpose, the aggrandizement of his ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Agreeable to this, he began making proposals to King Henry of France, who at length acceded to the reception of the Council of Trent; all the remonstrances of De Ferrier were forgotten, all the just reproaches which the French made to the Cardinal of Lorraine on his return from the Council were as if ignored, and the French nation, against the will of nearly all the wisest of that people, was bound to obey Rome. In Spain, the Jesuits were exempted from paying tithes. Naples, Malta, Parma, Lucca and Genoa all felt the encroachments of Paul: this augured ill for Venetia. The disputes as to the channel of the Po continued, the sovereignty of Ceneda was not yet decided, and the Patriarch Vendramino had been cited to Rome.

"As yet there was no pretext to attack Venice as to things spiritual," but this soon occurred. Saracena, Canon of Vicenza, was accused of atrocious crime, and was imprisoned by order of the Council of Ten. His cousin, the Bishop of Citta Nuova, took up his defence, and as he was Director of all the Nuncios he sent information to the Bishop of Vicenza at Rome, entreating him to defend the Canon and ecclesiastical liberty. Nani, the Ambassador from Venice to Rome, had notice of these proceedings.

The Pope said that he would not permit the Canon to be judged by the civil power, and Nani informed the senate that the Pope had objected to two laws of the Republic of 1337, confirmed and renewed 1450, 1515, 1536, 1561, and again confirmed 1603.

The first of these enacted, that no one was to build churches, chapels, monasteries or oratories, or institute any new religious Order without the consent of the Doge, under pain of banishment and confiscation of the property and funds. The second of these laws of 1333, extended in 1605 to all the dominions of Venetia, decreed that no one should sell, give or dispose of anything whatsoever to the Clergy, either regular or secular, without special permission from a magistrate. These laws were necessary, as a third, some affirm a fourth, of all property was actually possessed by the ecclesiastics. Some of the convents were very rich, for example the rental of the Benedictines was estimated at 18,000 pounds sterling per annum.

It will be found on reference to the treatise of Sarpi on Ecclesiastical

Benefices and Revenues, how entirely he disapproved of the riches of the Church of Rome, and how he contrasted her revenues with the commands of the Holy Saviour to his Apostles. He also shows that tithes were not to be given as in the days of Moses, but that the provision of the Clergy was to be regulated as necessity pointed out; he appears to have held these opinions long previous to the publication of the above volume. The Venetians had levied tithes and taxes as they chose, but now the Court of Rome had made still larger exemption as to their payment in favor of the Cardinals, Knights of Malta, monastic establishments, and a great part of the priesthood. The revenue of the Clergy of Venetia was estimated at eleven millions of ducats yearly! It was therefore with astonishment that the Senate learned that the Pope alleged that a large sum was owing to him by the Republic.

The Ambassador Nani had an audience of the Pope, and active communications and negotiations continued till the month of December, when he informed the Pontiff that an ordinance did exist which directed that the goods of the laity could not be alienated to the clergy, and he also produced briefs of Clement VII and of Paul III, both authorizing the jurisdiction of the Senate of Venice over ecclesiastics. There was no intention on the part of the Republic to conform to the commands of the Pope, and in direct opposition orders had been given for the imprisonment of another ecclesiastic, the Count Valdemirono Abbot of Nervesa.

The Pope was angry: he treated the briefs lightly, and said the Bull *In Coena Domini* revoked them entirely. It was in vain that Nani urged the right of the Senate to make their own laws, that he declared that the Republic had been guilty of no innovation, that he cited the examples of kings and princes having jurisdiction over ecclesiastics, the letter of S. Jerome, the acts of Charlemagne, Saint Louis, Henry III of France, Edward III of England, Charles V in Flanders, and the laws of Portugal, Aragon, Genoa, and Milan; for the Pope was determined to destroy all such jurisdiction, and protested specially against a statute which forbade a church to be built without permission of the Senate. The Ambassador then stated the long established right of Venetia to cite ecclesiastics before the civil authorities, that this was founded on the Theodosian and Justinian Code, that the Pope could not be ignorant that although from 1160 till 1220 there had been many constitutions to establish ecclesiastical exemptions, the Republic had exercised its full jurisdiction from 450. He also told the Pope that God had not given him greater power than he had given to other princes, and that as it did not belong to Venice to govern the States of the Church, neither did it belong to the Pope to govern the States

of Venice, that the laws were not secret but open to all, published throughout the city and registered in the Chancery where all might copy them, and he concluded by entreating the Pope not to listen to calumny, in which case the controversy might be endless. These latter words were in answer to the alleged retention of money by the Republic. He further said, that although the Republic had yielded to the Pope on trivial occasions, so she had always preserved her jurisdiction over ecclesiastics in important matters, that this was confirmed by the Bulls of Sixtus IV, Innocent, and Alexander VI, and that the Venetian laws of which the Pope complained, being anterior to the ecclesiastical exemption, no constitution of the Pope could derogate therefrom, that no ecclesiastical exemption had ever been made of those guilty of crimes against the person of the prince in any state, that in France the king and magistrates, nay even a commissary, could arrest an ecclesiastic, though he could not be condemned by an ecclesiastic only, but by the civil judge also, that in Spain an ecclesiastic could be arrested and that although the Popes had endeavored to exercise ecclesiastical exemption in the States of Venice it had never been permitted, that a prince would be one but in name if he could not punish all his subjects alike, when the public weal demanded it, that he could not accuse the Senate of overstepping its bounds, having only acted according to its liberties, the consent of the Popes, and of late years by their approbation.

These, although only a small part of the communications of the Venetian Ambassador, are given in order to inform the reader what Sarpi had to contend against. At one time His Excellency hoped that he had produced some effect, and the Pope somewhat reduced his demands, and said he would be satisfied if these were granted, without the payment of 50,000 scudi. His demands were, that the laws against building churches be abrogated, as also the laws against alienating the goods of the laity to ecclesiastics, and that the suit against the Canon and the Abbot be cancelled.

The Pope declared he would be obeyed, and that if not, he would dispatch an horotary brief to the Republic. While the Cardinal Dolfin and the good Cardinal Valiero craved delay, the Cardinals Sfrondato and Arrigono fanned the flame; they, with the Spanish Ambassador, were bent upon Spain waging war against Venetia and calling in the Pope to their assistance, the Cardinal Bellarmine was not satisfied with the Pope's measures towards Venice, and there can be no doubt from his subsequent conduct but that he felt regret in being opposed to his friend Fra Paolo. However the Pope did not take the vote of the Cardinals; he expected, as Genoa had just yielded to him, Ve-

nice would do the same, but he was mistaken. The Genoese had no Fra Paolo Sarpi to counsel their resistance.

The Venetian Senate returned a firm and decisive refusal to the pontifical demands. The unanimity of the senators showed the concord of the Republic in the defence of her liberties, and surely Europe never saw a more illustrious sight than that of these patriots for a time burying every jealousy, every past feud, every minor wrong, and voting with one voice against the encroachments of a foreign power, which was not only of much inferior antiquity to their own, but was one, the temporal part of which, their great theologian and counsellor Fra Paolo Sarpi told them was but lately constituted.

You who have trod the grand council chamber of the Ducal Palace of Venice, can well imagine the august assembly that met on the eventful day when refusal to the Pope's demands was voted. You can see their looks of determination, their strong resolution, their eager and indignant expression, their lofty endurance, exchanged for promptitude as they unhesitatingly but silently resented the insult offered to their country. The voice of the oppression of Europe had penetrated the heavens, the dawn of the morning of liberty had arisen, and as if the clangor of the Papal chains which had bound the nations as they cast them from them, had attracted the notice of the free, those who had effected their freedom from papal tyranny rallied around Venice, determined to uphold her in her resolve. The hopes which the Pontiff had entertained of victory were thus withered in the dust, he had been told by the Jesuits that the senators were divided in opinion.

The reply of the Senate was brief but conclusive, that the prisoners could not be given up because lawfully detained, that the laws could not be abrogated, and that the Republic recognized no superior but God only, and Paul V, having received it and hearing the same statements from the Ambassador Nani, immediately despatched two briefs to the Doge and Senate. In audience he appeared benign and agreeable, but his purpose was visible, and the end of all the painstaking audiences, deliberations and remonstrances of the Doge and Senate by their Ambassadors was, that the Pope informed his Consistory that Venice had violated ecclesiastical liberty in framing the two laws, and retaining the two prisoners. The Venetian Ambassador at Rome was cautioned to observe a good understanding with the French Envoy and other representatives of the different Courts, and the Senate, apprized by their Ambassador of the briefs, informed every foreign power with which they had relation of the state of affairs. The Nuncio withheld the briefs on their arrival, but having received positive commands from the Pope, he presented them, but they were not opened.

It was Christmas day, a day of joy and gladness to all who like Fra Paolo Sarpi reverenced, loved and served the Redeemer of the world, but it was a day of grief and anxiety in the ducal palace of Venice, the Doge Grimani lay at the point of death. It requires little imagination to paint the eager solicitude of the patriots of Venice, the anxious looks and eager words of the Senators as they question Fra Paolo in this crisis, read his looks of undismayed but thoughtful expression, and confidently trust him as the soul of honor with their yet strictly private communications.

It was an hour of great difficulty, all felt it to be so, but the hopes of the Venetians were shortly raised, as on the death of the good Grimani, the Donato was elected Doge, "who unquestionably, was one of the most eminent of all the senators for his integrity, experience in the affairs of state, for his acquaintance with letters, and for all those noble qualities which are now so rarely to be met with." Such is the character which Sarpi draws of Donato, and as a senator it is not overdrawn; well known at foreign Courts, all the Ambassadors hastened to do him homage. The Doge was determined to uphold the dignity and independence of the Republic, and Paul V found that whatever might have been the policy of Europe heretofore, she was now to derive a lasting lesson from the resistance of the Republic of Venice to papal demands.

In the hour of difficulty and danger to which of their subjects could the Doge and Senate turn? To whom so confidently as to Fra Paolo Sarpi, known through life to the Donato and to many of the senators, and venerated by them for his piety and humility, as well as for his talents. What was more wise than that they should now publicly seek the aid of the patriot who, well as he loved peace and quiet, loved his country more? He saw Venice coerced by a fellow mortal, Venice the proudest, the wisest, the most independent nation of any who acknowledged the Pope; he heard the distant roll of the thunders of the Vatican, and he was too learned in the history of his own country not to know how deadly a blight the Pope had spread over Venetia by former interdicts. He already saw her overwhelmed if she did not present a front of brass to the oppressive foe, and although he preferred the silent repose of his own Convent to the anxious and arduous life of a Theologian and Counsellor to the State, he put his hand to the oar, he made no remonstrance, he made no excuse, all that he did was to ask permission of the General of his Order and his blessing; these given, Sarpi publicly gave his service to the State.

It has been observed that he had been consulted privately; he therefore had long carefully studied the subject, and was well aware of the whole bearing of the disputes between Venice and Rome. On the

fourteenth of January, when the Senate proclaimed that protection would be given to all who aided the Republic by their counsel, he presented a document to the Senate in which he explained the two remedies which might be employed against the threats of Rome; and this document was read in the Senate with such applause that Fra Paolo Sarpi was immediately appointed Theologian and Canonist to the Republic of Venice.

It is not extant, but the following is a translation of the document, which was presented by Fra Paolo, at a later period, to the Doge of Venice.

“ Most Serene Prince,

“ In the commencement of the controversies, which are now at their height, between your Serene Highness and the Sovereign Pontiff, when he had only issued his first brief concerning the laws of neither building churches nor alienating the property of the laity to ecclesiastics without permission, in a writing of mine, presented to your Serene Highness, I said, that there were two remedies which might be opposed to the thunders of Rome, one, *de facto*, to forbid their publication, and prevent their execution, resisting violent force by a force which is legitimate, not passing the limits of natural defence: the other, *de jure*, an appeal to the future council. I expressed no doubt as to the inexpediency of the first; as to the second, I said that on several occasions it has been used by many princes and private persons, and also by your Serene Highness, but that where the first would suffice, the other need not be used which would give unmeasured offence to the Pontiff. Still, if accidents should ensue that might render it necessary, it could be made available, because the superiority of the council is allowed in France and Germany; and in Italy the celebrated doctors, although they maintain that it belongs to the Pope, do not hold the difficulty to be decided and determined.

“ These accidents seem to be now imminent, since the Pope has printed, published, and posted a monitory against your Serene Highness, which is very modest in its abstinence from maledictions, but most severe in all besides, both on account of the sentence which it pronounces against the Senate in a body (an unusual thing), and the interdict laid upon the whole State, and also because it threatens the *ad ulteriora*, in which there is no limit at all. Although from past examples given by other Pontiffs, we may form some conjecture of what is intended, yet, considering the strange course adopted hitherto, we may apprehend something yet more absurd. It is necessary, then, to balance all the reasons for or against the

appeal, and to consider what may be the soundest and most advisable resolution to form.

" Against the appeal we have the decree made by Pius II in 1459 in a Congress held in Mantua by the advice of his Court, excommunicating all who appeal from the decrees of the Pope to a future Council, because such appeal is made to what does not exist, neither is it known when it shall have existence. This decree has been always confirmed by his successors, and placed among the clauses of the bull *In Cœna Domini*, because in Italy the superiority of the Pope over the Council is a maintained dogma, and an appeal can only be made as such to a higher power. We may thence be very sure that an act of appeal to the Pontiff would draw down upon us an additional excommunicatory brief, and would further complicate the matter of the four points of controversy, making five. These are potent reasons dissuasive of the appeal, but answer may be made.

" First, relative to the decree, advising that, after it was made by Pius II, all the princes against whom it was fulminated have appealed, and this Serene Republic has done so on two occasions, once under Sixtus IV, and again under Julius II. For examples of other princes may be adduced, amongst the most notable, the appeal of Louis XII of France and the Gallican Church from the same Julius II, and that of the Emperor Charles V from Clement VII.

" There is not an example to be found of princes in such circumstances abstaining from appeal through respect for such excommunication. It may also be said, with some appearance of reason, that this decree does not include princes, if they are not, according to the rules of the chancery, specially named in the bull *In Cœna Domini*. In most cases they are named, but not in this; then it seems that there has not been any intention of including them in it. And if any one shall say that they are included in all the others, it follows that their being distinctly named in some has been superfluous.

" Secondly, concerning the reasons of the decree, namely, that an appeal is made to what has no present existence, neither is it known when it shall exist. They certainly have no weight, since, when the Apostolic seat is vacant, and there is no Pope then appeal is made, " *ad sedis apostolice futurum pontificem*," who, in a similar manner, has no present existence, neither is it known when he will exist. And if any one shall say that it is the custom to create a Pope very soon, I reply, that 250 years ago the seat remained vacant for two years running, and another time for seven years. Who knows what may occur? And as regards the Council, one might know when it would have an existence, if the canons were duly observed for its formation every ten years.

" Thirdly, as to the supreme power which the Pontiffs claim, in order

to establish the perpetual confirmation of the decree, it will be needful to speak at some length as to whether this resides in the Pontiff or in the Council, and to this I will now proceed. We have only to consider, that if the Pontiff has no judge on earth, there remains for the rest of men, whether princes or private persons, nothing but obedience; and we must say in the words of Tacitus, " *Tibi supremum vero arbitrium Dii dedere, nobis obsequii gloria relicta est.*" He has power to make all such laws as may seem good to him, all must be valid, nor can he be overruled by any one. If he has a controversy with others, he has only to make a law in favour of his own opinion, and the thing is decided.

" Some one may reply that he has supreme power in things spiritual but not in things temporal. I might answer by showing how many inconveniences would arise if it were so even in things spiritual. But we are speaking of things temporal. When the Pope wishes anything, he will say it is spiritual, as is the case in the present controversy, because your Serene Highness says you have made laws concerning things temporal, and the Pope says these are things spiritual. He confesses that he is willing to leave the temporal, but he claims this as spiritual. Here, however, we are brought to a stand. If we are to own him as supreme judge, we ought to believe him when he determines, as in the present case, that a certain thing is spiritual; it follows then that nothing remains for us short of obeying him in all things that come into his mind. If it is said that we may resist *de facto* I agree, but it seems to me that the wisdom of Christ our Lord was more likely to have provided a manner of obedience *de jure* than *de facto*, as he acted when he gave supreme power to the Church. " *Si non audierit, dic Ecclesiæ; si autem Ecclesiam non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus.*" For the rest, since the Pope has commanded us under pain of excommunication not to appeal from him, so, if he should command us, under pain of excommunication, not to dare to contradict him, we are as much bound to obey him in the one case as in the other, and we shall go on becoming more and more guilty. I may doubtless say that the Popes put some limit to their enormous power rather through fear that Italy and Spain should set forth the doctrines of a Council's superiority maintained in France and Germany, than from any other motive of restraint. And if they can once liberate themselves from such danger, the world will see whether they will rest contented within any limits whatsoever.

" The fourth and last consideration is, that if the appeal is made, the Pope may be induced to publish a further censure. Sixtus IV issued four successive briefs against the Republic, which appealed against them all, and all these appeals depend one upon another. I think the same thing was done under Julius II, though I have not seen it; however, no doubt

exists about this. Who does not believe that fresh excommunications will appear against all things done by the Prince *de facto*, without issuing proclamations for all who have a copy of the monitory, and against all that may be needful to do in future? Everybody holds for certain that three or four may be expected, and perhaps more.

“ Some one will perhaps say that the principal reason against an appeal to the Council is, not the fear of irritating the Pope, but of surrendering rights to ecclesiastics. I reply that we only appeal against the Pope’s abuse of power, and therefore we are not surrendering the laws of the Senate. And since this consideration has not prevailed under Sixtus IV and Julius II, nor influenced other princes similarly circumstanced, neither is it likely to affect us now. I say, moreover, that to defend our own rights in a Congress where so many princes are concerned who have interests and affairs common with ourselves, cannot be so great a fault. Would to God that this matter were treated by a free Council! Your Serene Highness, without any increase of territory, would increase your power one-third, but we are not worthy of such a blessing. Let us now consider the reasons favourable to the appeal.

“ The first and most powerful is following the example of so many great princes, and of the Serene Republic. The second, that we have no precedent of a different course of action on the part of any other State, except that of the French under Gregory XIV, when they burned his briefs in the public square. The third is, that it does not seem honourable to say that the Senate would have all *de facto* and nothing *de jure*, as if it had no show of right. The fourth, because it declares before the world that it is determined to live in the unity of the Catholic Church, which ought to be repeated in order to show under what authority your Serene Highness wishes to live, whilst exempting yourself from obedience to the Pope. The fifth reason is, that without appealing, nothing remains to be done, and every other course would be without precedent and dangerous. If arbiters were demanded the Pope would not accept them, for it would be more against his dignity to submit to them than to the Council, and what is an important consideration, if a demand were put forth for arbiters and refused by the Pope, the act would be an empty one, serving only to show the world that everything has been tried.

“ But some one may perhaps say that the time for making the appeal has gone by; that such a remedy should have been tried immediately after the first brief, or even previous to it. Yet if the appeal is now made, although it irritates the Pope, we have this advantage, that the excommunication and the interdict are suspended. It may be answered that the Pope will not understand it so. I own that he will not consider them suspended, but France and Catholic Germany will, since they hold that,

de jure, they are suspended by appeal, so that we are of the same opinion, and they will say that they act justly in communicating with this Government, and if the Pope complains, as he assuredly will, they will reply that they do not consider us under an interdict, because of the appeal, and so the quarrel will involve others as well as ourselves. If we do not appeal, we can only war by means of manifestos, a thing not to be neglected, yet neither to be used alone. I venture to affirm that if we do not appeal, France and Germany will laugh at our pusillanimity, and will perhaps think poorly of our conscientiousness, seeing us satisfied to act by deeds only. It would, therefore, be necessary to issue a manifesto declaring our motives for not appealing. If we venture therein to declare the truth, namely, that we have abstained through fear of the excommunication contained in the bull *In Coena Domini*, the world will marvel wherefore we took alarm at this one, and not at the other fulminated in the monitory, which last was without any exclusion, whereas in the bull there were reasons to show that we were not comprehended in it.

" If we appeal, everybody will feel according to his own view of things. The French and Germans will be pleased that we hold their opinion of the superiority of the Council. The English will not blame us, for they constantly affirm that a Council is necessary to decide the matter *de auxiliis*, and who knows whether they do not speak thus with the view of forming a Council under such a protest? But it would take me too long to speak fully on this matter.

" I have now to adduce the reasons which prove the superiority of the Council. The first of all owes its being to Saint Peter, when alive; whose acts are recorded by Saint Luke. A controversy having arisen whether believers were bound to observe the laws of Moses, a Council was summoned in Jerusalem, at which the holy Apostles, Saint Peter and Saint James, were present, and whither Saint Paul and Saint Barnabas had repaired for the same reason. Not only the Apostles and priests, but many other believers, were present at this Council. At first there was much disputing; then Saint Peter gave his opinion; then Saint Paul and Saint Barnabas; and lastly Saint James. Finally, the whole Council established a decree, and sent two legates, Barnabas and Silas, to declare it, and this title was written on it: " *Apostoli et seniores fratres;* " and in the letter was said, " *Visum est Spiritui Sancto et nobis.* " If then, Saint Peter in Council expressed his opinion as any other, if the deliberation was that of the Council, if the Council sent legates and wrote letters, who can doubt that it had supreme power? And if we add to this the election of the seven deacons, not by Saint Peter, but by the whole body of the Church, and the recorded fact that when two Apostles were dispatched to Samaria to impart to this people the gift of the Holy Ghost, Saint Peter

was selected by the others; not going of his own accord, but being sent, as the sacred text expresses it, with Saint John, by the rest of the Apostles; who will not conclude that the supreme authority was vested in the Church?

“ In the year 200, Pope Victor, on occasion of a controversy relative to the celebration of Easter, commanded the Asiatic Bishops, under pain of excommunication, to conform to the Roman Church. Polycrates, Bishop of Hieropolis, refused; and Saint Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, in the name of all the bishops of that province, wrote to Pope Victor a reprobatory letter, condemning his anger and his mode of procedure.

“ In the year 260, Stephen, the Roman Pontiff, in a controversy concerning the rebaptism of heretics, determined against it, excommunicating all who held a contrary opinion. The martyr Saint Cyprian opposed him, and in one of his epistles he calls him bold, impudent, and unwise, resolving to hold the opinion contrary to him, without, however, intending to put any one out of communion on such account. Saint Cyprian never thought of changing his opinion through fear of Papal excommunication, and Saint Augustine, in four passages of his works, commends him, saying that he was not bound to conform to Pope Stephen until the question in agitation was decided by a General Council. The doctrine and the examples of Saint Cyprian and Saint Augustine, men who have helped to establish the Church, both by their learning, and one also by his blood, will, I think, have more influence with every good Christian than the Cardinals Torrecemata and Albano.

“ In the year 312, Cecilian, Bishop of Carthage, having been absolved by the Council of Africa, Donatus, his accuser, appealed to Constantine, who committed the cause to the Bishop of Arles with other French bishops, and they confirmed the first sentence. Saint Augustine, who gives this history, speaks of having seen the authentic deeds, and, writing against the followers of the above named Donatus, he says, “ After these judges, what more remained but a General Council? ” From this narration it appears first, that neither Constantine nor the French bishops saw any impropriety in reconsidering the sentence of the Pope, therefore they did not deem his judgment supreme; secondly, it is plain that Saint Augustine was of opinion that the cause might be reexamined in a General Council: he did not then think the Pope was superior to it. But we pass on to relate a still more remarkable occurrence. About the year 425, Apiarius, an African priest, was condemned first by the Bishop of Sicca, and afterwards by the Council of Africa. He had recourse to Rome, to Pope Boniface. He sent Faustinus, Bishop of Potenza, his legate in Africa, to the Council which was then sitting in Carthage, to take the part of Apiarius, and he sent with him some canons, purporting to be those of the Nicene Council,

which established an appeal to the Pope in all causes. The Fathers answered, that in the acts which they possessed of the Nicene Council, no such thing was to be found, but that they would send for other authentic copies to Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch, and that if it were so, they would obey. Next year the Council having met again at Carthage, answers were presented from Saint Cyril of Alexandria, and Saint Atticus of Constantinople, both of whom sent the acts of the Nicene Council, in which the suppositious canons brought by the Legate were not found. Wherefore the African Bishops wrote to Pope Celestine, who had succeeded Boniface, that it was a great error in the Roman See to have given ear to Apiarius; that in future His Holiness should not afford such refuge, nor imagine that the Holy Spirit should give more assistance to one man (alluding to the Pope) than to so many brethren met together in the name of Christ; that he should send them no more legates, and that the acts sent from Rome under the name of the Nicene Council were not to be found in the acts sent by Saint Cyril and Saint Atticus, and that he should desist from introducing such haughty ambition into the Church of Christ. This epistle deserves to be read by every one. The acts of the said Council are extant, and (which is very important) Saint Augustine was one of the Fathers who took part in it and affixed his signatures. A canon was also made by these Fathers that no one in Africa should in future appeal to the regions beyond the sea. We may well believe that Saint Augustine, and more than 200 Bishops with him, must have understood the Divine Writings, and known whether Christ our Lord intended the supreme power to reside in the Pope or in the Church.

“ In the year 455, a General Council was held in Chalcedonia, in which it was decreed that the Patriarch of Constantinople should take precedence of the Patriarch of Alexandria and the others, in consideration of the rank of the imperial city. The Legates of the Pope, who were in Council, opposed this decree, as did also Leo I, who then ruled the Roman See. Nevertheless, the determination of the Council prevailed.

“ In the year 550 a Council was held in Constantinople. Vigilius, the Roman Pontiff, was then in this city, whither he had gone to have an audience of the Emperor; he would not take part in the Council unless there were given to him a higher seat than that of the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Council decided that the two seats should be equal; to which the Pope would never submit, and therefore he abstained from taking any part in it. Yet this was one of the most holy Councils of the Catholic Church, and the fifth of those termed general.

“ About the year 880, the eighth General Council was held in Constantinople, being the last of those held in Greece. In its twentieth Canon, it was decreed that the General Council may decide upon the causes of

all the Patriarchs, adding expressly, that if there shall be any cause against the Roman Pontiff, the same shall be treated with some reserve.

“ This Council has not appeared in print, but its acts are found in manuscript, both in Greek and Latin, and there is a Greek copy, with the Latin translation, in the public library of your Serene Highness, amongst the codices of Cardinal Bessarione.

“ In times nearer to our own, after the Greek Church had separated from us, when the disgraceful spectacle was exhibited of three Popes at the same time, that is to say, John XXIII, Gregory XII, and Benedict XIII, the Bishops who acknowledged the authority of John assembled at Constance in a Council, convoked by him in the year 1414. At the fourth session it was determined that the Council derives its power immediately from Christ, and that the Pope owes obedience thereunto in all matters concerning faith, the extirpation of schism, or the reformation of the Church, whether in its head or members.

“ In the twelfth session Pope John was deprived of the pontificate: in the fourteenth, the prelates who were obedient to Gregory, joined the Council, Gregory himself renouncing the papacy, and at last those who belonged to Benedict came over likewise, and Benedict, remaining contumacious, was deposed. Then all the Fathers renewed the decision that had been already made, that in matters of faith the Council was superior to the Pope. They extirpated schisms, reformed the Church in the head and the members, and decreed that the Council should henceforth meet every ten years, perpetually. Then, in the manner determined by the Council, Martin V was elected, who obeyed it so far as to summon a fresh one, and in its forty-fifth session, he did not take it ill that the ambassadors of the King of Poland should declare that they would appeal to the Council, if he inflicted a certain grievance upon them.

“ In this Council many things were ordained for the reformation of the Roman court. Pope Eugenius IV, successor to Martin, wished to dissolve it, and issued three successive Bulls against it, declaring himself its superior. The Council, on the other hand, made many acts against the Pope, and against the Cardinals who adhered to him, even going so far as to suspend him. Afterwards a composition was entered into, the Pope revoking the three Bulls issued against the Council, and acknowledging its authority.

“ It should here be considered how there can be any truth in the alleged superiority of the Pope to the Council, since Pope Eugenius, who had asserted this in his Bulls, would in this case have revoked that which was true, and consented to false opinions.

“ But let us return to the Council which, continuing to reform the court, incurred anew the hostility of the Pope, and matters went on so

far, that the Council deposed Pope Eugenius, and put in his place Felix V. Eugenius, however, not obeying, assembled another Council, first in Ferrara, and then in Florence.

“ After his death and the election of Nicholas V, Felix, who was a good man, weary of contests, abdicated, and the Council of Lausanne, which had removed thither from Basle, accepted his abdication in favour of Pope Nicholas, and so ended the schism.

“ From this time France and Germany have continued to hold the opinion of the Fathers of Basle as to the superiority of the Council to the Pope, while Italy has inclined to the party of Eugenius. I leave every one to draw from this history such conclusions as it warrants.

“ In 1516, Pope Leo in a Bull of his, having alleged many reasons, decides that the Pope is above the Council, but this decision is rather against them than against us. Therefore the Cardinal Bellarmine says that the question is still undecided whether the Pope or the Council is the superior, and as to the Bull of Leo, he says that the Council in which he published it is not held to have been a general one. Thus, according to those competent to decide a question, he concludes, that the Pope is not superior to the Council. I invite any man of intelligence to the consideration of this fact, turning our adversaries' weapons against themselves.

“ Finally, in the Council of Trent there is no mention made of this doubtful point, nevertheless some have tried to infer from it also the superiority of the Pontiff. To this end they adduce a decree in which the Council declares that all things appertaining to reform and discipline, by whatever clauses they may be established, it shall be in such a manner that a reserve for the apostolic authority shall always be understood. But I marvel at those who appeal to this decree to prove the superiority of the Pope, when the very contrary is evidently to be deduced therefrom. Because, according to their manner of speaking, if the Council had not passed this decree, the authority of the Apostolic See would have been treated in a derogatory manner. Then the Pope is not superior to the Council. Let us examine this consequence more closely by means of an example; if the high and supreme Council of Ten were to make a law concerning the judgment of criminals, and were to add the clause, “with reserve nevertheless, for the authority of the Avogadri was higher than that of the Council of Ten.” And if the Avogadri were to make a statute, and say therein, “with reserve, nevertheless, for the authority of the Council of Ten,” who would not laugh at the folly of an inferior tribunal, as if it feared that, without making such reserve, anybody might question whether one of their statutes derogated from the authority of the Council of Ten, their superior? If the General Council were inferior to the Pope, how could it fear to derogate from his authority, so as to deem it

necessary to declare that it had no such interest? Then we may well consider that the said decree, if it concludes anything, proves the superiority of the Council rather than the superiority of the Pontiff.

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“ If any one wishes to know what authors have written on this subject, I reply that the most celebrated are the Cardinal Cameracense, Jean Ger-
son, Guglielmo Ocamo, Jacopo Almain, the Cardinal Cusano, Alphonso Tostato. But what use is it to seek for authors, since whoever writes in favour of the Council is immediately prohibited?

“ The Abbé Panormitano is most celebrated amongst the Canonists employed by the court of Rome, where his works are in higher esteem (I speak freely) than those of any other author: nevertheless that part of them which contains these opinions has been prohibited there, the rest being held in great veneration. They have not ventured to prohibit the Cardinal Cusano, because he is held as a martyr, but they have suspended him, that is, ordered that his writings should not be printed any more. Well did he say,

“ *Non oportet scribere in eum qui potest prohibere.*”

“ I say in conclusion, that if after the example of so many princes and that of your Serene Highness yourself, an appeal should be considered desirable, it should not be desisted from on account of the imagined superiority of the Pope to the Council, or through fear of the Bull *In Cœna Domini.*”¹

“ Venice 1606.”

The tidings of Sarpi's appointment were ill received at Rome, and the Cardinals Bellarmine, Baronius, Colonna and others already felt, how powerful would be the opposition offered by a Theologian and Canonist, whose talents were not only great, but whose decisions had been approved by former Pontiffs.

“ Nothing was spoken of at Rome but the Interdict,” however, the Ambassador Duodo had no better success than Nani. The Pope was bent on extreme measures, and the Doge Donato soon received the second brief, condemnatory of the Republic's proceedings against the two ecclesiastics, and full of menace as to any future act against papal supremacy. The Doge and Senate replied, spoke of their divine right, and even advanced the fact that the predecessors of Paul had allowed that they did not possess the power to which he laid claim; still, it ought to be remarked that their communications were respectful, but it was unlikely that Fra Paolo would advise one word of concession to a Pope who had serious thoughts of not acknowledging Donato as Doge, *Of* this, however, he repented.

¹ Venetian Archives.

The Pope expressed anger on receiving the reply, and cited the example of Julius II, but Nani warned the Pope that these days were past, that the world was no longer what it was in the time of that Pontiff. If a gleam of light did break in upon Paul V, it was quickly overshadowed, and he returned to his former ideas of exacting obedience from the Republic.

It will be seen that Sarpi always encouraged a good understanding between Venetia and France. From the first, the King of France did not foment the disputes between Venice and the Pope, *on the contrary*, M. de Canaye was empowered by the King to counsel reconciliation. But the Doge still manfully asserted the independence of Venice, and was fully aware of her position. Sarpi too had reason to fear for his country; if Spain decided against Venetia, all was lost, but he and his friends hoped that the issue of this dispute might be a wider separation of the Republic from the power of Rome. He saw that the temporal power of the Pope stood between Venice and true religion, and in all his writings during the Interdict he speaks of the Pope, the papal authority, and his temporalities, not only with the voice of a seer, of a student of canonical law and of the Fathers, but of a lowly follower of Him on whom the Church is built.

No notice as to the disputes had been as yet made to Sir Henry Wotton, but the diplomatic servants of the Republic in London had orders to communicate the matter to King James.

The first defence of Sarpi was by the Ambassador of England. The Council of Ten were imperative in their command that no member of the government should hold any communication with the Ambassadors resident at Venice. But upon Sir Henry Wotton insisting upon conversing with the Secretary Scaramelli, leave was at length given. Sir Henry informed him that for state reasons his royal master had spies at the Court of Rome, and that one of these had told him of measures that had already been taken against Fra Paolo at Rome. To corroborate this assertion, Sir Henry gave a letter to the Secretary, in which were the following words written in cypher by the General of the Jesuits to the Father Possevin, "They are instituting a suit here secretly against Master Paul of Venice, of the Order of the Servi, on account of a writing of his, in which he not only defends the Venetians against excommunication, and the demands made by Nostro Signore as to the late differences, as you, Reverend Father, well know, but in many points he lessens the Pontifical authority by certain allegations deduced from certain ancient privileges, for which it is said the Republic have given him two hundred ducats per annum for life."¹

¹ 1 April 1606. *Esposiz. Roma.*

This writing was sent last week secretly to the Ambassador, with an express order that if Nostro Signore would not be pacified, he was to present the writing to him, and without any further treaty to leave the Court."

From this letter it is obvious that a copy of the writing given by Fra Paolo Sarpi to the Senate is what is referred to by the General of the Jesuits. The boldness of this measure is extraordinary, and from this may be dated the extreme displeasure of the Court of Rome to the friar who was not afraid to tell the Pope the reasons why he thought the excommunication was null and void. This was a still greater offence than his opinion of the Court of Rome, contained in the letter written in cypher to Gabriello. The Senate permitted Scaramelli to meet Sir Henry Wotton a second time, who took this opportunity of assuring the Secretary that the Ambassadors believed that the Pope would make peace with Venice, and that if the adjustment of the differences were committed to his care, "the English would meet the Republic with open arms."

It is clear that Sarpi, although grateful to King James for his proffered aid, did not judge him able to understand the cause of dispute, but his proposal to hold a General Council coincided with the opinion given by Sarpi.

On the 12th of April the state of affairs was communicated to the Emperor, the Ambassadors of France, Spain, Savoy, and to the Secretaries in Florence and in Milan. The Emperor thanked His Serenity; the English Ambassador and other envoys declared the powers to be friendly. But at Rome matters approached a climax. The Ambassador Duodo took leave, two of the Cardinals could not procure longer delay, it was evident that an Interdict would be fulminated against Venice, although the Pope appeared irresolute; he addressed but few persons on the subject, he drew out a Monitory which he ordered to be printed, he corrected it himself, and dispatched it to Venice.

This remarkable Brief of Excommunication of Paul V against the Venetians, in Latin, was dated Rome, 17th April 1606. It declared that unless within twenty seven days the Republic of Venice should obey the Pope's dictates, the Doge and Senate together with every inhabitant of Venetia were excommunicated by divine authority, as well as that of Saint Peter, Saint Paul and Paul V. Their first act bore the impress of the wise counsel of Sarpi.

The Senate immediately commanded prayers to be offered up in every church throughout Venetia, and large sums of money were distributed in alms. The sincerity of the supplications of Sarpi on that occasion cannot be doubted; it is evident with what trust in God he speaks of this com-

mand of the Government, and happy was it for Venetia that she had a Councillor who could protest against an excommunication which forbade the priests to perform any services of the Church or to administer the sacraments. Was it likely that he would advise submission to such commands? Never. The Doge did not hesitate, but at once protested. The Lion of S. Mark is engraved at the top of this protest, and none but those who have seen it, can have any idea of the enthusiasm which the Venetians attach to the smallest representation or mention of Saint Mark, whom they regard as their patron Saint. The writer of these pages saw only a small part of a draft in manuscript amongst the MSS. of Sarpi. It is full of corrections, and it is probable that the few, but strong sentences of this manly protest gave him, as well as the other Counsellors, much thought. It was published in Latin, also in Italian, and sent to the Ecclesiastics.

The Doge and Senate had acted independently of Rome, and that was a proud moment for the friars of the Order of the Servi when the learned Paolo received their public acknowledgement of his talents: the Popes of Rome had rejected the demands of Venice for his promotion, and Donato had the mortification of seeing his services often given to Rome without reward, but now the case was different, Donato rejoiced that one of the first acts of his Government was to give his friend a high place, and the noble hearted will share the pleasure that thrilled through his breast, when he saw Sarpi by his side, to aid and to encourage him in the long and arduous conflict which as yet had only begun. While the friar raised his voice and wielded his pen against aggression, the Doge declared himself ready to take his sword in hand, aged as he was, in the defence of the Church, as his ancestry had done to maintain the liberties and honor of the Republic. The Cardinal Borghese told Donato, when Ambassador, that if he were Pope he would excommunicate the Doge and Senate, to which Donato had replied, "And I would smile at it." He had kept his resolution, and Paul V was awoke from his dream of aggrandizement by the report of this protest against him being affixed to the walls of all parts of the city of Venice.

" Leonardo Donato, by the grace of God, Duke of Venetia &c.

" To the most Rev. Patriarchs, Archbishops and Bishops throughout our dominions of Venetia, and to the Vicars, Priors and Rectors of the parochial churches, and to all other Prelates and Ecclesiastics, greeting. It having come to our knowledge that by order of the Most Holy Father Paul V, a certain brief was published and posted in Rome, fulminated against us, our Senate, and addressed to us, of the same tenor and contents as hitherto, we being obliged to preserve the peace and tranquillity of the state which God has given to us to govern, and to maintain the authority

of the Prince who recognizes no other authority in things temporal save the Divine Majesty, we thus by our public letters protest before God and the whole world, that we have not failed to use every possible means by our Ambassador at the Court of His Holiness, as well as by our Ambassador sent for this special purpose. But he having found the ears of his Holiness closed to all reason, and against that which the Holy Scriptures, the doctrines of the Holy Fathers and Sacred Canons teach, to the prejudice of the secular authority given to us by God, to the liberty of this our State and to the scandal of all our faithful subjects, who by the grace of God hold their wealth, honor and being. We therefore indubitably hold the said brief not only as unjust, but null and void, invalid, wrathful and illegal, in fact, we have judged fit to use the same remedy against it which our ancestors and other princes did, sure that you who have the care of the souls of our faithful subjects, and of divine worship, which flourishes in this our State as much as in any other, will in future continue in the same pastoral office. It being our firm resolution to continue in the Holy and Apostolic Catholic faith, and in the observances of the Holy Roman Church, as our ancestors have by Divine grace from the foundation of this city till now. And it is our will that notice of all be affixed in all public places of the city and throughout our dominion, certain that the publication of such a manifesto will come to the ears of all who have heard of the said brief, and to the notice of his Holiness, whom we pray our Lord God to inspire with the knowledge of the nullity of his brief, and of all his other acts against us, and knowing the justice of our cause, we may and shall more devoutly reverence the apostolic chair, as we and our ancestors always have done.

“ Given at our Ducal palace, 6th May 1606.”

Sarpi affirms that the Nuncio must have seen the Protest on the Church of S. Francesco,¹ and therefore could inform the Pope that the Doge had communicated to the nobles, citizens, and people that he would not bend to the injustice of Rome. Those to whom Venice is familiar can well imagine the effect which such a proclamation would have upon the people, from place to place the news spread, with few exceptions all were loyal. And who dared to dispute the command of the Prince? Not the civil power, not the soldiery, not the navy. No! they were loyal to their Prince and ready to spill their blood in defence of their rights. Those who despised the commands of the Doge were adherents of the Court of Rome, the Jesuits, subsequently followed by the Capuchin and Theatine Orders, determined to obey the dictates of Paul V. But the

¹ M. S. Interdetto.

Doge and Council of Ten were not rulers whose command could be lightly despised, and the Jesuits who considered themselves martyrs in the papal cause, contrary to command, encased all their worldly goods in large coffers, together with the books, plate, and furniture of their Church, and took them from their Convent; what remained is summed up in a list of articles of little value.¹ On hearing of the Monitory, they had sent Father Galiarda to Rome to consult the Pope; his decision was contrary to the Venetian Government. The Jesuits wished to preach, to hear confession, but not to celebrate mass; the Senate would listen to no such compromise, they were commanded to leave Venice. They called their disciples together, and from this tumultuous body they obtained a considerable sum of money, they then concerted with the Capuchins.

With the crucifix carried before them, they endeavored to excite the multitude in their favor, but finding this impossible, they asked the French Ambassador to permit his people to accompany them. He refused, and at two o'clock at night, each with a "Cristo," amidst an immense concourse of people, the disobedient Order left the city. Never did such a fleet breast the waters of Venice as this large company of misguided men, and as the last was about to step into his gondola he stopped and craved benediction, but the people were in no humor to see it granted, the strong common sense and intelligence of the Venetian mind held no sympathy with these disturbers, and one simultaneous cry rent the air in their own soft Venetian dialect, "Andate in malora." The house of the Jesuits was searched, it did not escape the notice of Sarpi that there were piles of burnt writings and a crucible for casting money. Passevin wrote a defence of the latter saying it was a form for their caps. There were writings left at Padua, copies of eighteen rules bearing this title, "Regulæ aliquot servandæ ut cum Orthodoxa Ecclesia vere sentiamus," in one of which Sarpi remarks "that the seventeenth rule advised preachers not to preach too much of the grace of God." He contrasted such doctrine with that of the Holy Scriptures, what would be thought of a king who granted pardon to rebels, but with the condition, that of that pardon little was to be made known? Death was still suspended over them, the grace of God is freely given, and the Jesuits had no more power to command that it should be little spoken of than a gaoler to deny any part of the pardon given to a criminal, such doctrine was as novel as heterodox. In the third rule they were ordered to believe in the Church of the Hierarchy, "which" says Sarpi "is to believe that white is black."

He was grieved to see, that after the Jesuits were banished from Venice

¹ M. S. Arch. Venetian.

² MSS. Gesuiti.

they continued to use all their influence against the Republic, both publicly and privately, they gave indulgence to all who observed the Interdict, forged letters from the Republic of Genoa to Venice, and from Verona to Brescia, they tampered with all the Ambassadors of Venetia at foreign courts, they were judged to be the cause of all the insurrections, seditions and disorders throughout every kingdom, and the strong terms in which Fra Paolo speaks of them throughout his works, the part which he believed it to be his duty to take in opposition to them at this time is no matter of surprise to those who have studied the matter and know how long he was cognizant of all their machinations, when he was in the capacity of Theologian, Canonist and Counsellor to the Republic. Yet there is no violent vituperation against them, calm and collected was his opinion of them. Their political doctrines of the exaltation of the Papacy above a monarchy or prince, and depression of the aristocracy were too contrary to the laws of Venice to be well received there, and if to this be added their doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, though under their guidance in one sense enslaved, it will not be judged harsh if Sarpi affirmed that the Jesuits were dangerous denizens of any state. Amongst other novelties which they taught were these. That the Pope is supreme monarch of the world, may make or rescind laws, command obedience by force, must be obeyed right or wrong, that the people may rise lawfully against their prince, that the right of princes is not divine, ecclesiastics are to be punished if they obey the Republic, they are superior to the laity, whatever hinders the advancement of the Church is to be punished, to employ a soldier not of the Church of Rome is against God, it is shameful to converse with one not of the Church, the judgment of God and his Holiness is the same, to question it is to question God. And they revived a prayer by Pope Leo in which the Pope is placed above God.¹ These and much else drew from Sarpi the charge of "novelty," he also taxes them with ingratitude. The Jesuits had been honorably and generously domiciled in Venetia, and in Venice they had amassed great wealth, built a church, and secured the tuition of a great part of the sons of the nobles. Learned men had not scrupled to lower themselves to raise their Order, and they not only inculcated their erroneous theology on the minds of the Venetian youth, but on those of the softer sex, some of whom were always foremost in their defence, either unwilling or unable to enquire into their system. "The city lies under an interdict" wrote the Jesuits, "and consequently under an anathema of the Pope" they therefore pronounced all contracts both civil and ecclesiastical to be void, and that the priests could not dispense the sacraments validly."

¹ Letters and MSS. Arch. Ven. Sarpi.

These invidious writings shook the faith of the weakminded in their God and in their Prince, and to counteract the mischief done by those works and letters, Fra Paolo was appointed a Censor, and also charged to examine all that was written in favor of the Republic: we find his name affixed to the bold remonstrance of the Senator Quirini in the warranty of the Registry of the Council of Ten.

But Fra Paolo did more than examine books, ^{he} wrote them; A stringent necessity called him forth, his modesty had hitherto restrained him from the exertion of the full power of his intellect, to oppose the aggressions of the Pope by at once writing in favor of the Republic as he did not consider himself sufficiently master of the Italian language to write it well, he therefore furnished Leoni with materials for a work, but as this author wrote with more elegance than power, his work was inefficient. A papal interdict required a more potent pen to answer it than Leoni's, and Fra Paolo, having recalled to mind a Latin treatise of Gerson on excommunication and shown it to some of the senators, he was commanded to translate it into Italian, and to prefix a short treatise of his own, it was published anonymously. His opinions of the dispute were not hastily formed notions of the present, but the calm and deliberate deductions of the past. He read all the works which were likely to throw light upon the matter. French, Italian, Spanish, German and English authors wrote in favor of the Republic, and works which were valued at Venice were burned at Rome; and one of many, a poem in a burlesque style, obtained great notice, it threatened Paul V with the loss of the Republic, and her adoption of the doctrines of the Reformed.

A

CHAPTER VII.

A.D. 1606 — A.D. 1607.

DOGE OF VENICE. Leonardo Donato.
 SOVEREIGN OF GERMANY. Rodolph II.
 GREAT BRITAIN. James I.
 FRANCE. Henry IV.
 SPAJN. Philip III.
 TURKEY. Achmet III.
 POPE. Paul V.

Fra Paolo's loyalty. — Treatise on the Interdict. — Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio chosen by Fra Paolo as his Coadjutor. — Opinions. — Signs of accommodation. — Fra Paolo's works. — The Doge prepares for war. — Mediators. — Accommodation. — Reformation in Venice.

Fra Paolo, as well as the other Friars who acted according to the commands of their Prince, did so conscientiously: they knew that their allegiance after God was due to him. The Pope had arrogated to himself power over the Doge to which he was not entitled, and which therefore was not to be obeyed; it would in fact be difficult to prove that he had a right to exercise any authority whatever in Venetia.

Fra Paolo has shown in his works, more particularly in his letters, how step by step the Pope had attained power, and why, although he was obliged to tolerate the abuses of the Church of Rome, he still resolved to remain in her communion. The Pope thought to bring Venice to his feet by granting a jubilee to all but to her, but he little knew what was the joy and consolation of Fra Paolo that the Gospel of Christ was preached there in all its power, and that far above the fierce waves of controversy he bade his fellow mortals raise their eyes to the Lamb of God who taketh away the sin of the world. His was no semi-religion, he stripped humanity of all vaunt, and bade his hearers trust in their Saviour in all simplicity, and notwithstanding the varied attempts which have been made to crush this fact, it still stands written by the pen and dictated by the heart of one who really served his God. Sarpi knew, as few else knew, the precipice on which Venice stood if she were again reconciled to the Pope; with all his toleration for the Church of Rome he had little for the Court, he

knew that a hand divine only could free his country from the tyranny of papal power, he had a herculean task to perform in resisting the Pope, but there is no doubt that he did effect a great work, in being one of the members of the Church who dared to question the temporal and spiritual power of the Popes, as well as many innovations, especially as to their alleged supremacy and infallibility.

He was not altogether alone, there were a valiant few who shared his opinions, and their names appeared as those Theologians, who during the first period of the Interdict were the defenders of Venice on the publication of the treatise entitled "Trattato dell'Interdetto."

"Fra Paolo," writes M. de Thou, "the Theologian so celebrated in this great affair, followed up the above work by a very learned and moderate one entitled "Considerazioni."

He begins by recounting the history of this dispute, its origin, and progress, and puts in the clearest light all the false steps which the Cardinals caused the Pope to take, either from complacency or precipitancy. He then shows the equity of the decrees attacked by the Holy See, and proves victoriously the right of jurisdiction of princes over their ecclesiastical subjects, and that from the words of S. Peter and S. Paul, and by quotations from the Fathers; also, that ecclesiastical exemption is only founded on the benevolence of princes, and having shown the plan of this exemption, he cites an important passage from Pope Leo. He shows that the power given by Christ to Peter was one to be used, but with discretion. 'Manet ergo Petri privilegium ubicumque ex ipsis fertur aequitatem judicium, nec nimia est vel severitas, vel remissio, ubi nihil erit ligatum, vel solutum, nisi quod Beatus Petrus solverit, aut ligaverit.' And also by the example of S. Paul notwithstanding S. Peter, what is the duty of the Church, and in another place he shows that the Saviour had no sooner given the keys to Peter which he elsewhere shows is figurative, but he says to him, 'Vade post me Satanas, scandalum es mihi quia non sapis quæ Dei sunt sed quæ hominum.' The privilege granted to S. Peter was only to be in force when judgment is founded on equity.

On its title page are the words, "Maledicent illi et tu benedices." Ps. 109, ("Let them curse, but bless thou,") and the eye of Sarpi was lifted upwards, while his foes showered anathemas upon him. He was blessed. It is by no means to be inferred that his works are faultless; great allowance must be made for the writings of a friar of the Church of Rome in the 16th century, emerging from the doctrine of the schools, and obliged, if his works were to be read at all by those he wished to convince, to cite many authorities. But it must be borne in mind that some of these authorities were reckoned heretical at Rome, and that however encumbered by them, there is throughout the writings of Sarpi loyalty to God

and to his prince, a disbelief in the supremacy of the Pope to a council, as also of his infallibility, and a constant appeal to the Holy Scriptures.

The writer of these pages has never seen the MS. of the "Considerazioni," but the testimony of M. de Thou is a satisfactory proof that Fra Paolo Sarpi did write this work. Fra Fulgenzio also names it, but there is stronger proof still; Sarpi names it in his manifesto to the Cardinals as his.

M. de Thou also notices the anonymous work generally attributed to Fra Paolo Sarpi. It is therein proved that princes have received their right from God to rule over all people, both seculars and ecclesiastics; that Jesus Christ, the author of our salvation, although by his divinity equal to His Father, the King of Kings and Lord of Lords, had never, however, either before his death, or after his resurrection, exercised any temporal authority, and that S. Peter, his vicar, would not arrogate a power to himself which Jesus Christ, when clothed in our humanity, would not take; that the immunities of ecclesiastics, which made them valued for their wealth, was not of divine, but human right; that the Senate of Venice having received its power from God, and recognizing no other temporal power as superior, could have committed no sin in making decrees as to what belonged to the Church, or what might belong to it and consequently that the Republic, seeing it was unjustly overwhelmed by the censures of Rome, looked upon the sentence of the Pope as null and void, both as to divine and as to human law.

As to what S. Gregory says of the sentence of a pastor, that "whether just or unjust it is to be feared," has nothing to do with the present affair, where the question was not whether it was unjust, but respecting a sentence which was null and void, and according to Duns Scotus and the learned Navarro, there was no reason to dread a sentence which was null and void.

This writing was answered by the Cardinal Bellarmine, and M. de Thou observes "that the strongest part of the answer of the Cardinal is where he taxes the Senate with having submitted and solemnly accepted the Council of Trent, and then, without any exception, having permitted anonymous books on religious matters to be printed, which was expressly forbidden by the Council." This connivance alone, according to Bellarmine, made the Senate amenable to the censures of the Church, "and it must be confessed," continues M. de Thou, "that this acceptance of the Council of Trent is a strong argument against the Venetians, because this Council is regarded by the Ultramontanes as an infallible and sacred oracle which confirmed and sealed, so to speak, all the decrees by which the Popes had imagined to establish their power, so that all objections against new censures fell to the ground in virtue of this Council, which

is a sort of proscription by which the partizans of the court shut the mouths of their adversaries, and deprive them of all resource."

Such was the bold language of the upright patriot M. de Thou, one of the many Frenchmen who lifted their voices against the decrees of the Council of Trent. It was true that Venice had unwittingly accepted the decrees of the Council of Trent. Her Bishops were persuaded to do so, and the closing sermon at Trent was preached by the Venetian Bishop of Nazianzo.

The members of the Church of Rome are no more blameable for the decrees of the Council of Trent, than a people whose king passes unjust laws. But why should the rulers of a people enforce the acceptance of the decrees of the Council of Trent upon Italy, which, when they were passed, dared not refuse them, although there were many found in that Council who told the Papal Legates very plainly, that some of its decrees "were not according to the Holy Scriptures." This was long since shewn by other authors besides Sarpi and by M. de Thou. Look at all the ponderous volumes on the Gallican liberties, which lie neglected on the shelves of the libraries of France as if they had never been written, and why?

When Fra Paolo was appointed Theologian to the Republic, he named his tried friend Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio to be his coadjutor. Of all others he appeared most eligible for such a trust, he was a man of great ability, learning and science, he had been reader of scholastic theology at Mantua and Bologna, and was still engaged to Bologna for three years more, but Fra Paolo would take no denial, and Fulgenzio's friendship for Paolo was so great that he obeyed his command, though at the loss of his library and all hopes of preferment. Such a companion was a great boon to Fra Paolo, the innate nobility of Fulgenzio's character making him willingly share Paolo's fortunes. He thus speaks of himself.

"As soon as P. Paolo had entered on this charge, he deemed it necessary to have a faithful companion on whom he could rely as upon himself; one who would refer to books for him, because the method of the times required it. Arguments were not sufficient; it was customary to quote the opinions, not only of the learned, but many bye-laws. And he who would not err on the credit of another, or who would not be mistaken, found it necessary to examine authorities from point to point, a task which required more labour than intellect.

"To this end, P. Paolo bethought himself of Fra Fulgenzio, a Brescian, with whom he had the privilege of close familiarity. He had the kindness to initiate him in the Socratic method of study, not the common, pompous, and less profitable course of reading; but, first reading, and then by discussion to investigate truth, as also to point out

error, a true, and singularly good method of instruction which has fallen into disuse, and has given place to pomp and ostentation. The reader," continues *Fra Fulgenzio*, "will pardon this little digression, because it does away with an objection made to the Father, not only by the friars, but by some of his intimate friends, that although very learned himself, he communicated but little to others; and many went so far as to tax him with an envious and ambitious nature, and that he did not like others who possessed knowledge; and, also, that he liked to hide his great talents from them. But this was not the case, for he had the most gentle, loving, and kind mind, communicating with the greatest readiness as required." ¹

The years which they passed together were often chequered by peril to both, but *Fra Paolo* had told *Fulgenzio* plainly that he considered him necessary to the preservation of his existence, and there can be no doubt but that *Fulgenzio* was the means, on more than one occasion, of saving the life of *Fra Paolo*; and was it nothing, after the long and arduous business of the day, the discoveries of plots against himself, the contemplation of irreligion, the failure of plans for the good of his country, the intolerance of the wicked, the lethargy of the weak, to meet the welcome smile of such friendship, to converse on coming days of liberty to Italy, to discourse on those intellectual pursuits which nerve the mind to still stronger effort? And there was yet a stronger link than all these between "our *Fulgenzio*" and *Fra Paolo*; religion had united them by an indissoluble chain. They were wrestlers in the same strife, they were both desirous of seeing their country freed from the yoke of Rome. They were both intimately acquainted with its court. Open to conviction, *Fra Fulgenzio* adopted *Fra Paolo*'s opinions, because he believed them to be true, ² by discussion he had investigated truth, and it will be seen how eloquently he propounded it.

His friendship for *Paolo* was not borne away by the breath of slander, like the summer blossom by the summer wind. It survived both evil and good report, as sincere as durable, and such is the praise that is ever and anon shed by *Fra Fulgenzio* around *Sarpi*, that he is lost to sight. It seems to be his whole aim to keep his beloved master in the most

¹ MS.

² *Fra Fulgenzio* had previously studied under Michael Angelo of Pistoia. This is a curious old town of "chiare case, oscure chiese; the houses light, the churches dark." In a chapel in the Cathedral dedicated to the Apostle James, is a prayer in which S. James is styled the Head and Chief of the Apostles. "Tu qui primatum tenes inter Apostolos imo qui eorum primus." He presided, and not S. Peter, in the first Apostolic Council held at Jerusalem. *Acts xv, 13, et seq.*

prominent part of the picture, content to remain in the deepest shade, if Fra Paolo Sarpi be loved, honored, and admired.

Fra Paolo had not only the advantage of Fulgenzio's assistance in making references to books for him, but also the opinions of Pellegrini and Gratiani, Counsellors of State. Menochio lent his aid, while the most eminent jurisconsults and lawyers of Italy and France, Servin, Lechassier, Vigner, and Casabon, and the principal universities were consulted by the Senate. Thus it was with no rash or untried weapons that Fra Paolo and the Senate of Venice maintained this contest with the Pope.

There is a large volume of MSS. in the Archives of Venice of Sarpi's opinions relative to the Interdict. These as well, as correct analyses of reports on state matters which were supplied by him to the college, were valuable as rendering the subjects clear, and his short and logical expositions must have also spared their time. More than once he regrets at the conclusion of a written opinion, that it had not fallen to the lot of one of more ability than he to supply such; and on one occasion, when grappling with the question as to the Pope being infallible (which Sarpi did not believe), there are two marks of his red chalk on the words of Saint Paul in full, "But though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed," (Gal. 1, 8). As in death, so it appears to have been his motto in life, "It is not mine to live, but mine to serve," and he did serve a state capable of appreciating him. It is one of the distinguishing marks of this great people, that the Venetians showed respect, nay even veneration, for their public servants, and the Princes, the Council of Ten, and the Senate always evinced the greatest esteem for Sarpi, and well would it be if they were emulated by others, who seldom, till the tomb has taken a public servant to its bosom, realize his service, and hang bays that ought to have graced a living brow on the marble urn over his unconscious ashes. The Venetians had the wisdom to know the worth of Sarpi; he had the piety and modesty to say he "*only defended a just cause,*" if no temptation of the Court of Rome could induce the Venetians to betray him and give him into the hands of the Pope, no bribe would move him from his allegiance to his Prince, or from the service of his country.

There can be no doubt but that Sarpi continued hostile to the return of the Jesuits. His advice weighed with the Senate, and in consideration of all that has been advanced with regard to them, on the 14th June they were excluded by an edict from Venice, not a voice was raised in the Senate in their favor; even after the secret scrutiny of votes, not a vote was found to have been given for their return.

The Pope at length published a jubilee,¹ inviting all Christians to pray with him for the wants of the Church, and conceded indulgence, absolution and remission to all save those under the Interdict. At Vicenza an anonymous work appeared in which the writer called the Pope, Antichrist. This, Sarpi reports, disturbed the Senate, ~~He~~ did not hold this opinion.

“ As to the question which you propose, I have endeavored to compass it, but I have always considered the words of Saint John quoted by you, as a name common to many, and by antonomasia to one, but whether that one was really to be, or whether it was merely a vulgar opinion without any foundation for it, did not appear to me sufficiently clear, but capable of both interpretations. That to the Thessalonians, though not that name, shows that such a particular person is plainly spoken of; but for all this, it is not sufficient to determine me, because it is not clear, whether such an one be an individual, or many men. And I remain still in doubt, nor have I found any other person who has met my thoughts on this but yourself. To whom I will say that the multiplication of acts of faith, and specifying as a subject those things which are not specified, is to give in to old abuses. Why not leave in ambiguity what has been left so till now? I heard say once, and I leave it to the judgment of the intelligent, that the articles of faith are established, he who does not receive them has no faith and is an infidel, but he that besides these articles believes anything else for an article, and separates from others, is a sectarian; and I do not see you are in this danger, because you leave the matter in suspense. They have more reason to think of it who made the article, but I do not think they will separate from one who does not admit it as certain. Indeed the old abuses creep in still, and those which drove away the tyrant from the Republic, though out of zeal he is offered to acquire dominion again. Thanks be to God if he remains within bounds. ”

France again offered to aid the Doge by force of arms, but advised peace. The Spanish Minister continued to make fair promises to Paul;² at this Venice was disquieted, but her preparations for war both by sea and land progressed. Her sailors were ready to serve her, her arsenal resounded with the strokes of the hammer, and many new galleys were added to her renowned fleet. Sarpi on no occasion displayed fear, and his intrepid conduct and powerful arguments still continued to encourage the Doge and Senate to resistance.

A little more, and Venice might have been lost to Rome for ever, unfortunately for her all her great men were not wise men. Much infor-

¹ Sottilissima invenzione, June 19, 1606. Sarpi MS.

² Off.^o Papa in Spagna, p. 52, Sarpi, MS.

mation is obtained from a letter of M. Abain,¹ as to the State of affairs at Rome with respect to Venice. The Cardinal du Perron assures King Henry, "that Donato, the Doge of Venice, is of that faction which always kept the Republic in fear of giving offence to Spain." He adds that "the Grand Duke of Tuscany had lately told him that the said Donato had hindered the Venetians from rising, and said in full Senate,² that they must not trifle with the King of Spain, although," the Cardinal continues, "other sentiments might have drawn Donato and his party to other ideas," still, there is more than sufficient to prove that fear of Spain held Donato back, and was one of the grand obstacles which stood in Sarpi's way to severance from the Court of Rome. He looked for *reform in religion when there was a change in the State*, and it is for his countrymen now to ponder on what he meant. He gave honor to the Doge Donato as a great and good man, but it must not be overlooked that he wrote "as a Prince he was nothing."³ This must mean, that as Doge he had very little power, but there can be no doubt that Sarpi hoped that Donato would be able to exercise greater independance towards Rome. He was too keen sighted not to know the great advantage that would accrue to his country did she free herself from the Roman yoke, and it is a matter of astonishment that the wise men of Italy, who have in some measure broken the civil and ecclesiastical thralldom in which the Pope kept their country, do not wholly free themselves by a return to the ecclesiastical polity of days gone by.

Fra Paolo soon furnished another able work in favor of the Republic, "The Apologia," a volume consisting of 132 pages quarto. On its titlepage is an engraving. The Saviour with his right hand points to the world at his feet, and around the engraving are these words, "Regnum meum non est de hoc mundo" (John xviii, 36), to which Christ draws attention by the forefinger of the left hand. "Europe, Asia, Africa, and America," are written on the globe. The whole is a solemn appeal to the reader, and prepares his mind for the pages which follow, which were read with interest and admiration. Sarpi knew the magnitude and justice of the cause he defend-

¹ Appendix, 10th July, MS. Bib. Imp. *(France, Paris)*.

² A full Senate was composed of the Doge, six counsellors, three heads of the forty criminal judges, six Savi of the Council of the Pregadi or Senate, commonly called the Great Savi, five Savi of Terra Firma, and five of the Savi. It convoked the Senate, deliberated on affairs of state, received ambassadors, and in fact was the principal part of the Government of the Republic. But the reader need scarcely be reminded of the power of the Council of Ten, which at that period took cognizance of every affair of state, and without whom neither Doge or full Senate could act. Vide, Paolo V (Cornet's), presented by the Abbate Valenellli.

³ MS.

ed. The rights of the Church of Rome had been advocated and exalted beyond their limits; God was dishonoured thereby, and this true but humble soldier of the cross again drew from the mighty arsenal of the Holy Scriptures well tried weapons, and from the Fathers and Councils arguments against such infractions of the laws of heaven. The style is simple and agreeable, the dignity of the subject is felt, and the untenable position of the Pope is pointed out with the hand of a master; but there is no railing or assumption, and this work is still valued. Fra Fulgenzio praises, "the modesty of the writing, the profundity of the doctrine, and the sufficiency of the defence." Fra Paolo showed by the *Apologia* that he was not convinced by the arguments of the Cardinal Bellarmine.

If he had listened to the offers made to him by the Court of Rome, he would have been preferred to the highest dignities of the Church, but he was a man of honor. He had promised to serve the State of Venice and he did serve her; he held a place of great distinction, which was a public acknowledgement of his piety, talents and high character, but he found that his enemies still aimed at his destruction.

The next work which appeared, was "Le Confirmazioni." Fra Fulgenzio ascribes all the praise of it to Fra Paolo, although it was written by the former. The writings of the Roman Court contained many severe calumnies against the Republic, and Fra Paolo's anonymous work was pronounced to be "rash, calumnious, scandalous, seditious, schismatical, and heretical." His "Considerazioni" was prohibited at Rome, and all were declared excommunicated who read it. However, the French Ambassador at Venice writes, "I hear that Cardinal Bellarmine has written in favor of the Pope, and that his book is in the press, although what he said was as solid as a diamond, he will find pens here to answer him."

This work was not published anonymously, and it is to be regretted that the Cardinal was betrayed into expressions unworthy of his character and his friendship for Sarpi, still such works are useful, they convince the candid that the doctrines of the Jesuits are heterodox. The fact that this distinguished Cardinal endeavored to defend what is indefensible, proved that, if for political reasons the doctrines of the supremacy and the infallibility of the Pope, the sovereignty of the people, probability, and many others have been occasionally supported by a Pope of Rome, these doctrines cannot be proved by sound logic, and never have been valued by the most profoundly learned either in morals or in theology. A system of religious opinions which required a man to write against his will by command in favor of the Pope Paul V (and on more than one occasion Bellarmine de-

Truth

clared that he did not agree with the Pope), cannot be orthodox-christianity, but is an upholder of falsehood. It is profound as the ocean, yet clear to its utmost depths, it is as high as the heavens, and yet is not beyond the reach of the most simple. It is wide as the universe, and yet cannot be bound within finite limits. It is divine, and therefore cannot be amalgamated with what is untrue.

It has been a cause of surprise that the Republic of Venice did not, upon a perusal of the monitory of Paul V, instantly break with the Court of Rome. She had not then discovered that if she advocated reform in the Church, her civil government would have greater strength. The Doge did indeed say to the Nuncio, that the Republic of Venice, like other states that had embraced reform in religion, might separate from Rome; but the Venetians believed that reform was schism, and did not consider, as did Sarpi, that the Pope by his innovations had changed, and also had added other articles of faith, as well as observances and rites, to the Church of Rome. Sarpi and some others were desirous that the Church should return to its primitive government, and in so doing, he knew that the first great step ought to be the abrogation of the temporal power of the Pope.

It was, and is, a great mistake to say that reform is change, if by change, novelty is meant. To desire reform within the Church of Rome is only to return to the old religion from which the Church of Rome has changed. As the crust of time and noisome damp may deface a pillar, without touching its foundations; so, if these defects be removed, the column remains entire, and more beautiful than before. It was never pretended by Sarpi, that the Church of Rome was not built upon Christ and His apostles. He again and again repeats this; but he never denied that there were great abuses in the Church, and he did not hesitate to obey the command of the Republic to enter her service, doubtless in the hope to uphold the liberties of his country against the Pope, who, in temporal power as well as spiritual, desired nothing less than the sovereignty of Italy.

The power of the Pope was deemed exorbitant prior to the time of Fra Paolo Sarpi. One of the earliest who argued against it was Claude, Bishop of Turin, in the ninth century. He was Bishop of the Valdesi, Waldenses, Albigenses, or Paterins. Sarpi mentions them, and the reports of their enemies of them. "All the countries were in communion and obedience of the Church of Rome, only, in a small part, that is, on that tract where the Alps joined the Pyrenees, were some remainder of the old Waldenses or Albigenses." When Italy succumbed to the Pope, after the valorous Arnold of Brescia suffered

death, the Waldenses never yielded. In 1180, they were in Lombardy; and in the thirteenth century, were in Rome. In 1231, Gregory IX issued a bull against them; but in Milan, Como, Cremona, Venetia and Naples, Sicily and Genoa, they were to be found in numbers. In 1370, they went to Pragela, in Calabria, "enriching the land for the space of two hundred years, and sharing in the revival of letters," and a learned writer remarks also, on the first gleam of light which shone on that remote spot of Italy where they found an asylum.

It does not appear that Sarpi knew that there were in Venetia many of this primitive Church of Italy who had held the faith delivered by Christ the Saviour to the Apostles, but he thus pities their sufferings elsewhere. "While they met in Trent to convince heresies by a Council they did the same by arms against a small remainder of the Waldenses, poor creatures who had neither weapons or thought otherwise than to defend themselves by flight, it is certain that four thousand were slain, who without defence desired mercy." Sarpi notices that the Duke of Savoy made a composition with them which displeased the Pope, and that this took place after a battle in which the Duke lost seven thousand men and slew but fourteen of the enemy. In 1500 the Waldenses had a house of learning at Florence, presided over by their Barbes or Ancients, they had Bishops from the time of Constantine who did not receive their authority from the Pope; ¹ they preserved their liturgy.

The reader will pardon this digression, as any notice of the Church of Italy must be incomplete without mention of the Waldenses, but they have shared in the enlightened policy of Victor Emmanuel, the valorous King of Italy, they are again established in Florence, in an ample college; the head of which, President Revel, unites rare qualities of head and heart, and is able by his great knowledge of the dead languages to superintend the publication of the Italian Bible of Diodati, the friend of Sarpi. [†]

To return, a perusal of the various histories of the Interdict, and an examination of many MSS. relative to it must convince their readers that the authority of the Pope was considerably impaired by these disputes with Venice. Paul V had gone too far, the eyes of men were opened, at least partially, and Venetia beheld herself injured by one who ought to have been her friend. Preparations to carry her cause by force of arms continued. The Pope, flattered by the promises of Spain, determined to proceed to extremities against Venice, and Sarpi, far from dissuading the Senate from war, appears always to have upheld it in that resolve, *if necessary*.

¹ Card. Rainerius; Bunsen's, *Elementa Liturgica*.

Poland, Holland, Tuscany, Modena, France, and Savoy were ready to aid, especially the three last mentioned; the King of Great Britain (who distinguished Sarpi by inviting him to England at a later period) urged the Doge to perseverance.

If we now cast a long gaze down the vista of past ages, what meets our view? The Doge Donato, on the appointment of the Admiral of the fleet, taking his way to the arsenal, and having passed through the memorial gates of the battle of Lepanto, proceeding to pay the sailors who were about to fight for their country. One million and five hundred thousand ducats in shining heaps lay before the Doge, they had been brought from the treasury, and a chain of solid gold measuring one hundred feet in length hung around. The people were unanimous in their loyalty to their prince, and their acclamations were loud and long in his favor, a more striking scene cannot well be imagined, it is one well worthy of a painter: the Senators, the Savi, the Secretaries, the aged Doge, the countenances and picturesqe dress of his brave soldiers and sailors, nor would the Servite be wanting there. If he had not leisure to go down from the chamber in the Ducal palace, where Galileo says he was always to be found, and mingle with the crowd, he could take a rapid glance of the stirring scene from thence, he could see the expression of indignation mingled with resolute valor, he could hear the shouts of his countrymen for their liberties, and surely if ever a human being had reason to be satisfied, it was Fra Paolo who knew how large was his share in this patriotic demonstration, it was no love of bloodshed that stimulated him to counsel war, he had counselled peace if it could be maintained, but when the liberty of his country was at stake, he did not scruple to raise his voice, and by his energy to support her courage, valor and renown.

He, however, soon after learned that the adherents of the Pope at the Court of the King of France advised him to endeavour to reconcile Venice to Rome. Proposals were made but rejected, the Venetian counsellors did not approve of them, and Sarpi could ill conceal his dislike against "a congregation of war," composed of fifteen Cardinals, all in the Spanish interest.

The Doge bore this news with fortitude; the King of Great Britain again proffered aid, promising to incite the King of Denmark and the Princes of Germany to join him; but a heavy blow now fell on Venice, her Theologian was summoned to answer for his conduct at the tribunal of the Inquisition. He excused himself from appearing there, not only because of the little security given to him, but he protested his innocence, his submission to the Church, named the works which he had written in the service of the State, begged the inquisitors to cite the exceptionable passages, and said he was ready to bow to the

Cardinals, except Bellarmine, that if they refused this, he could only add there was nothing in his works which deserved censure.¹

No one can for an instant suppose that the Senate, much less Leonardo Donato, would permit Sarpi to go to Rome. If he had set out on his journey publicly, the people of Venice would have risen to prevent him; such was their veneration for "Paul the Venetian," and such the strong feeling of these independent citizens against the Pope of Rome. This is a subject too little considered; it needed but to convince the understanding of the Venetians that their liberties were infringed, and for a time even superstition was flung to the winds.

It was not cowardice that made Fra Paolo decline to go to Rome; we have seen that he looked on the excommunication of the Pope as null and void, he had defended a righteous cause, and in reply to the charges brought against his writings in favor of the laws and dominion of his Prince, he could point to the Holy Book of God and repeat, "Rex qui judicat in veritate pauperes thronus ejus in aeternum firmabitur."

Of the citation to Rome, Fra F. Micanzio writes, "Notwithstanding his moderation, it was not in his power to prevent his being cited to Rome to give account of his writings. To which citation he answered by a manifesto which is in print, wherein he proved the nullity of the citation, and the impossibility of his going to Rome. It has never been confuted. What followed will show whether he had reason to trust himself there, or whether it was just, as he had humbly petitioned that some place be assigned where he might make his defence before proceeding further. It seemed that God, the Just Judge, at the time that this tempest of persecution arose against him, consoled and comforted him; and as the Divine Majesty does not lay heavier burdens upon His servants than what by His divine grace they are able to bear, the fatigue of his office increasing as well as persecution, he was cured of those grievous infirmities of body which he had borne with admirable patience, and notwithstanding the weakness of his constitution, he was as well as he could desire. At this time he was about 55 years of age, October 30, 1606."

Fra Paolo shewed great leniency to those who "either from scruples of conscience, faction or interest disobeyed the public orders, not one of them was punished by death at Venice, he coincided with the clemency of the government, and excused whatever was capable of excuse in the accused." Two of the seven theologians "were induced to disregard the law of conscience, and to desert the cause they once espoused, but such

¹ Manifesto.

was the opinion even of Fra Paolo's enemies of his integrity, that having tempted all the others by means most likely to shake their fidelity, they dared not even address a word to him on the subject. And it is a fact, that Alessandrini, an intimate friend of his, on going from Rome to Venice, had strict orders to remove Paolo and Fulgenzio from the service of the Republic. But the General of the Servi answered, "that as to Padre Paolo he could not have the least influence," and on his waiting on the Cardinal d'Ascoli, he said openly, "that he had read P. Paolo's works; that it would be lost labor, and his removal need not be attempted. This great prelate knew the justice of the Venetian cause, and that his incorruptibility was such that he was as impenetrable to the enticements as to the bribes or threats of the Court of Rome."¹

A change now came over the state of affairs. After long delay and circumlocution, Lerma, the Prime Minister of Spain determined to endeavor to effect an accommodation between Venice and Rome, and deputed his nephew, Don Cardenas, to go to Venice. Still her counsellors, Fra Paolo and the Republic were determined not to yield, especially as they knew that Lerma had deceived the Pope, and in reality had no intention of making war with him against Venetia.

The Cardinal du Perron and the other French Cardinals took care that Henry IV should not join the Republic against the Pope, the Doge and Senate preferred to treat with French mediators, but they gave a magnificent reception to the Spanish Ambassador extraordinary; not one, however, of all the high dignitaries of the Church who accompanied him dared to broach the subject of bribery to Sarpi.

But he was mortal, and why should not he be tempted to leave "the path of honor and turn aside from his duty to his God and to his Prince? So some thought, but they were mistaken. At the Sechini's house a spy tried to ingratiate himself with him by abuse of the Pope, but Sarpi was unmoved; what touched him more nearly was to see how little good had accrued from this long and painful struggle, little so what he had hoped, although great in reality to Europe. It was unfortunate for Venetia that the chief mediators, who were ultimately allowed to treat for her, had forsaken the reformed religion, and were in consequence more zealous for their newly adopted papistical opinions, and more attached to the Court of Rome than Sarpi.

The first of these was King Henry IV, his advisers the Cardinal du Perron, and M. de Canaye.

Fra Paolo was little esteemed by the Cardinal, his remarks have been reprebarded by some authors and ridiculed by others. They are at least

¹ MS.

singular. "Je ne remarquerai rien d'eminente de cet homme, je ne vois rien que de commun et un peu plus que moine." This criticism on Paolo produced the retort, "M. le Cardinal du Perron estoit un bel esprit, mais pas savant." Let us briefly sketch his career. He was born 1566, and was educated by the Reformed, and at the age of twenty had made great attainments in the Latin, Greek and Hebrew tongues, and at the court of Henry IV was regarded as a young man of rare endowments. As a controversialist, his talents attracted attention, but like most people given to change, his abilities were more brilliant than profound. He embraced Popery, and seldom has there been so zealous a proselytiser. He was the applauded orator of the funeral oration of Mary Queen of Scots; by his remonstrance, the Secretary of the Queen of Navarre renounced the reformed religion; and it has been noticed that he is believed to have partially influenced King Henry IV in his conformation to popery. He assisted in the conference between the Reformed and the Papists at Fontainebleau when he triumphed over de Mornay, but not without reproach from his royal Master, who had rejected with disdain a writing drawn up by the Cardinal and others for the King to sign as his creed on uniting himself to the Church of Rome. Du Perron had lived at Venice before he was deputed to arrange matters between the Pope and the Venetians.

The third mediator, de Canaye, at fifteen years of age embraced the reformed religion, and after long travel in foreign parts, practised law in Paris, where his appointment as Counsellor to Henry III was opposed on account of his religion, but Henry of Navarre took him into his most secret counsels, and intrusted him with various embassies. He discharged his duties as President of the parliament of Toulouse with great ability. In the year 1600 he reentered the communion of the Church of Rome, upon which he was complimented by Clement VIII, was ambassador to Venice in 1601, and now he bent every energy to effect a reconciliation between her and the Pope. Truth demands the statement of his vacillating opinions, but it is only justice to M. Canaye to affirm that he bore a high character, and this is apparent by the letters of Fra Paolo.

It was useless to expect that either king Henry, du Perron or de Canaye, but late members of her communion, would advise Venetia to break with Rome. Fra Paolo had hoped for a better result, still he was pleased that France and not Spain should mediate for Venice. The Pope was uneasy at the continued differences, and seeing that these still encouraged the perusal of works against his authority, he began to give some signs of reconciliation, but always insisted on the return of the Jesuits to Venice.

The year 1607, therefore, opened with some prospect of adjustment, but

with no intention on the part of the Doge, Senate, or their Counsellors to readmit the Jesuits. The threats of the Pope, not to listen to an accommodation unless they returned to Venetia, were summarily disregarded. Fra Paolo knew what an array of foes he thus marshalled against him, but he felt it to be his duty to give counsel against a measure fraught with evil to the State. Spain and France still contended for the honor of the final mediatorship, but it would be tedious to recount all the delays and various rejected propositions of the Senate. There was some hope that France would act justly, and king Henry IV, who was fully apprized of all concerning the Venetians, at last determined to send Cardinal Joyeuse to Venice to affect an accommodation, which after much discussion was agreed upon, the Venetians maintaining their resolution not to readmit the Jesuits; this resolve had again nearly frustrated all attempts at an accommodation, but the Senate was firm; their Counsellor was doubly watchful of any infringement of the honor of his country, and these proposals were at last accepted, — that the kings of France and Spain request the Pope to raise the Interdict; that the two ecclesiastics be given up as a favour to the king of France, without any prejudice as to the power of the Doge and Senate of Venice over ecclesiastics; that the protest against the Interdict be withdrawn, and as in reality the Pope had been the aggressor, that he should be thanked for asking an accommodation.

Sarpi has been censured because he would not consent to the word "revoke" the interdict, in place of "raise" the interdict in the manifesto of the accommodation of the protest. To admit that it was revoked was to admit that Venice had received it, which she never did. The following day the two ecclesiastics (prisoners) were delivered up to the Cardinal Joyeuse, "at the request of the king of France, and without any prejudice to the Republic," the French ambassador answering, "that so he received them." A deed being drawn out, they were then recommended to the Ambassador, who took them under his protection, the Cardinal saying to M. de Canaye as he passed, "These are the prisoners which are given to the Pope," and the Cardinal said, "Give them to such an one." Claudio Montano received them, and begged the Minister of Justice to keep them in custody. This done, the Cardinal departed with the Ambassador to find the Doge, but he had passed from the Ducal chapel, with the Lords and Savi to the College, where they were all sitting in their usual places.

Sarpi affirms distinctly that absolution never was given; it is plain from the above that the Doge and Senate would not receive it, and Sarpi drew up the small work entitled Particular information on the accommodation, in consequence of a rumour having been spread that the Car-

dinal Joyeuse gave absolution to the College, he had intended that a great demonstration should have been made, that amid the plaudits of the multitude, the loud voice of cannon, the thrilling tones of the cathedral bells, the Pope of Rome should have told out to the world that Venice had been absolved; that she had repented and was pardoned, but the Doge would not permit any sign of concession. Not a cannon was fired, not a bell poured its chimes on the ear of de Joyeuse, not a sound evinced either pleasure or regret. The churches were filled to overflowing, as they had been all the time of the dispute between Venetia and Rome. What was really felt was heard only in the private houses of the Venetians, and there were not a few who secretly regretted the accommodation, and judged that their liberties had been compromised. Venice had missed the golden opportunity of freeing herself from the Court of Rome; it cost her dear.

The Cardinal Joyeuse wished to visit Fra Paolo, but the Senate forbade an interview and he did not wish it, the Cardinal remonstrated in vain, he had bent the Pope to his purpose, but he could neither influence the Senate or their Theologian.

Little mention has yet been made of those who shared Fra Paolo's wishes with regard to the reformation of the Church of Venice, and who from time to time might be found in his society.

The English Ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton, evinced anxiety on this subject, and he was ably supported by his learned chaplain Mr. Bedell, who arrived at Venice shortly before the accommodation. Eager to make the acquaintance of Fra Paolo, he wrote to him, and the Servite admitted him to his cell and to his studies, and discoursed with him on religious subjects. Grave, but of agreeable demeanour, Bedell won the regard of Fra Paolo, and although Bedell was twenty five years his junior, Paolo acknowledged with gratitude, " that he had learned more from him than from any other divine."

Paolo had wished that the Doge's attention should be directed to " a premonition to all Christian Princes and States," lately written by James, king of Great Britain, but Bedell had failed to persuade Sir Henry Wotton to present this book to the Doge; on which the biographer of Bedell remarks, " I have heard him say he was displeased with the Lord Ambassador, but in this one thing, when the difference between the Venetians and the Pope was growne to the highest, and there seemed not to be one step between their rejection of him and his Popery for ever, and none ever forsook him that were more likely to doe it upon most rationall and Christianlike terms. When the Prince, in his speech in the Senate house had spoken in much praise and consideration of king James, and that things were not so bad as men bare the world in hand, intending to let discord between prince, and something also in commendation of the English Am-

bassador there present, and when the Pope's Nuntio had said that James was not a Catholik, and not to be relied upon, the prince immediately replyed, ' that Rex de Angleterra did believe in Jesus Christ, but what others did believe he knew not.' P. Paolo and the seven divines, and many others, sent for Bedell and entreated him to desire the Lord Ambassadour to deliver the king's book immediately to the prince, and did urge him and persuade him to doe it, by all possible motives from reason and religion, keeping himself still within the bounds of modesty and moderation towards him whose servant, most observant of his Lord and Master he was, and referring himself still to his wisdom and better judgment. When he had said all that he could, the Lord Ambassadour's answer was no more than this, that he was instructed not to deliver the king's book *but on St. James day* which was approaching, and when that day came the State was reconciled to the Pope, and then when on that fatall day the booke was delivered, the answer was this: That they thanked the king for his goode will, but were now reconciled to the Pope, and therefore more resolved not to admit of any change in their religion according to their articles of agreement with his Holiness. Which said answer had almost broke the hart of D. Bedell, *Padre Paulo* and of many others that were ready to entertain the gospel of reformation, as ready as the Israelites to march away from Pharaoh."

Considerable insight into the affairs of the church of Venice is obtained from the letters of Mr. Bedell to the preceptor of prince Henry, in which he mentioned several steps which he deemed absolutely necessary towards reform.

" *The first.* To maintain the States here in heart and courage against the Pope, and that which they most fear the power of Spain by which he is backed.

" *The second.* To increase the number of those that have received any light of the truth.

" *The third.* To formalize and unite into some body of a congregation, some part at least of that great number who now stand alienated in heart and tongue from Rome," and in a prior letter, " All changes in religion seem to me to come from reasons of conscience or of state, for the former it should be necessary thereto that the magistrates and people in some regardable number should be informed of the present abuses, and they offer or these call for redress, a great work and whereto much time and many instruments would be requisite, save that sometimes the excellency and dexterity of a few works more than the number of many. Some there are here as admirably fitted thereto as could be wished: Master Paulo and his scholar Fulgentio, Servites, both of great learning, piety, humility,

discretion, integrity of life, and, which is specially to be considered as to our purpose, in great account with all sorts and deservedly; having in the late controversy served their country so faithfully as the Pope conns them little thanks for their labour, the former for a long time lived in Rome, and is holden for a miracle in all manner of knowledge, divine and human, the chief counsellor of this Signory in their affairs ecclesiastical. The other was some time reader of Scholastic Divinity in Bononia (Bologna), the Pope's University, out of which place he was called home, or turned out when the quarrel began; his books are still detained. He is said to be an excellent preacher, and of his sermons, I think came the report out of England, in print, of certain preaching here the last Lent. These two I know, as having practised with them, *to desire nothing in the world so much as the reformation of the Church*, and in a word for the substance of religion they are wholly ours, what effect now the force of truth may have in the mouths of such men I leave to your consideration. Sundry of the Senate and nobility do extraordinarily favor them and their opinions, the general doctrines which I mentioned before did much good. Private conferences have more freedom and no less fruit; the name of Papalini, given to the Popish faction, argues somewhat the banishment of the Jesuits, another no ill sign how the minds of men be affected, and although it be no small disadvantage that the government here is in the hands of so many in such sort, it will not serve to work one, or two, or ten, yet hath it some commodity that voices being given by balls secretly, every man doth freely, without regard of others displeasure, sway whether his conscience leads him. Concluding then this discourse, Reformation by that bye way, or persuasion of the conscience, though slowlier seems no way to be dispair'd of in Venice. ”

Sir Henry Wotton had wished that Diodati should have come to Venice the year before, in order to form a congregation of those who leant to a reformation in religion, and Bedell further informed his correspondent that he was detained, first, because it was winter, and then by his own engagements, and Sir Henry Wotton then wrote to him not to come till he saw the effect of the volumes of the Holy Scriptures which had been sent to Venice. However, Diodati did come to Venice, in company with a gentleman of Geneva, his cousin and nephew, both young men, and a French gentleman sent from M. du Plessis, from Saumur.

“ He had divers meetings and conferences with the Fathers, Fra Paolo etc., at which both myself and this bearer were present, he can report to you the particular points discoursed.

“ It was told him by M. Paulo, that no fewer than 12,000 in this

city were enlightened more or less with the truth, and alienated from Rome. That yet among the nobility, nothing could be moved until there were some occasion of breach with the Pope; with them therefore he would not that he should yet deal, but with others to whom he should be brought, chiefly merchants, Germans, Flemings, French, of whom not long before a certain French gentlemen had made a list with the several sums they would contribute to a minister, that he might try the dispositions of so many as he could. Yet for his part he thought the matter not yet disposed to receive such a form as was to be desired, he propounded first other meetings to be used by way of conscience and talk, whereby men might come to know one another and inform themselves better of religion ere any exercises were erected.

“ Now, sir, you shall understand that the French gentleman, whose name was M. Papillon, having indeed conversed with *M. Paulo and being animated by him to take that pains*, whether out of mistaking him, or hoping to facilitate the business by that means, had used that motive, that the Prince and Senate did not abhor herefrom but would favour and further this course. Whereupon the merchants being not ill affected, and seeing no fear of danger, were very forward, and would stick for no money, hoping especially to do a thing that the Signory should take in good part, and the gentleman being desirous that such a good work should take place, presently, according to the humour of some, and very common to many of that nation thought all done which is desired, and hereupon filled the reformed churches in all France with the noise that Venice would shortly fall from the Pope, a harder work and of longer time, as well appeared even by those who had thus far engaged themselves, for some when they perceived that they ran the hazard of their goods and liberty, presently draw back: so hard a thing it is to follow Christ with the conditions of the cross and leaving all. Others, although making profession, were yet known to live scandalously, and what security could there be to commit to the conscience of such men, a business of this sort. It was urged by myself with some earnestness that at least some beginning might be made of a congregation, although it were but of a very few faithful and sound persons, which like a little snow falling upon the top of a hill, would gather more and more to it in time. A form of separation was presented, which might serve for the profession of such as should be admitted, and for a confession of the faith, it was showed that good advantage might be taken of a short sum of the Scripture printed here in Venice in the year 1567, before the Bible in Italian, with the license of the Inquisition, which embraces all necessary and fundamental points of faith without even the least touch of Popish corruption. That for

a liturgy and form of ministering the Lord's Supper, if it should be thought fit to use that of the French Churches, it was already in the Italian, and we had the Book, if they thought ours fitter, which I had shewed the Fathers before in Latin, and Diodati had seen, it should not be long ere the same should be put in Italian, as indeed then I had begun it, and since have finished.

" It was added that the affections of men since the peace with Rome grew colder and colder, that it was a principle of war that when our strength is at the best, and that of the adversaries may encrease, if ever, we must fight; but Diodati thought it not fit to hazard the whole upon so small a hope, especially considering that none of the nobility did join. They wanted also a fit person to be minister, for both himself was none but only reader of divinity and Hebrew, and he doubted that his travaile should be of more use and necessity to the Church of God in Geneva, than it could be here, altho professing his readiness to be employed in this business if he might see hope of doing good. *The Fathers* prevented my offer of myself with saying that it was not fit nor convenient with regard of jealousy of state, no, nor that I should be present often at any such ridotti or meetings as we before had thought of for the second intention; thus was that deliberation broken off with this only fruit that Diodati travailed with Fra Paulo to put more spirit and courage in him, and to stir him up to avail himself both of the great graces that God hath given him, and that favour and authority which he had with these Signors to the glory of God in the advancement of the truth. He departed also with full information of the state of this place, and prepared to send thither some young scholars, who should be as schoolmasters in the houses of some who desired it, not letting pass to read the Holy Scriptures, and use secret instructions until more fit occasion should be more publicly offered, such success had that journey, which we had well hoped should have brought with it the perfect judgment of this Church's recovery.

" Now as physicians of our bodies are by anticipating an imperfect crisis sometimes remitted over to another critical day, so are we.

" And that shall be I hope the preaching of Mons. Fulgentio, this Lent, who is resolved, leaving the friarly course of the ordinary postillers, to preach Christ Jesus and that will be the ruin of Antichrist." ¹

As Mr. Bedell refers to his translation of the Common Prayer Book into Latin, we again quote from the *Speculum Episcoporum*. This valuable MS. informs us, " that, by the help of P. Paulo, Mr. Bedell learned the Italian tongue and was suddenly so much master of it as if he had beene an Italian borne, as P. P. said to the Lord Ambassadour, in so

¹ Original Letters. Bedell. " New year's day in our own style. 1607." — Venice.

much that the most of his sermons in Venice are written in the Italian tongue or in Latin, none excelled (Bedell) since Erasmus brought in the purity of it.

" To requite P. Paulo's assistance to him in acquiring the Italian tongue, he wrote an English Grammar, and many also desired to learn it for religion's sake, and he translated the Common Prayer Book into Latin, which P. Paolo and the seven divines that published against the Pope's authority liked so well that they were resolved to have made it a pattern of public worship, if they had made a full retreat from the Church of Rome, as they were very like to do. He helped and instructed the seven Venetian divines in the understanding of the Scriptures whereof Fulgentius was chief; whose sermons against the Pope I have seene and are yet extant, printed in the Italian, though upon the pacification, all such writings were called in and anathematized." And Fra Paolo was content to be anathematized for his brethren, such was his answer, and that God had not given him the spirit of the German reformer, when urged by M. Daillé to take stronger measures; but any one who is at the pains to make research into the history of the attempted reformation of religion in Venice at this period, will find, that unaided by the Council of Ten, it was impossible for Fra Paolo to do more than he did for the dissemination of truth. The preaching of the gospel was still permitted to him as well as to the other theologians, who with Diodati and the Archbishop de Dominis were visitors at the Servi. Paolo was still determined not to separate from the Church in which he had been baptized, although he did not believe in the doctrine of the mass as a propitiatory sacrifice, yet he patiently waited till God would send rulers who would command that the people should no longer be taught the commandments of men, but possess intact the Holy Scriptures. " There was not a word in his Greek Testament that he had not marked with his red lead, which showed that he studied the Word of God," and there is high interest to all who value truth, in the remembrance of these students of the Holy Scriptures; Fra Paolo, Diodati and Bedell associating together. A firm friendship long subsisted between them, and when Bedell left Venice for England, after eight years residence there, Fra Paolo bade him farewell with sorrow, and gave him a Hebrew Bible and Psalter " wherein he wrote some expressions of love inscribed with his heart and hand: besides this, he begged Mr. Bedell to accept his picture."

There were and are several authentic pictures of Fra Paolo besides this. Sir Henry Wotton's, Sir Roger Twysden's Dr. Donne's and others. The engraving after Zuccheri about 1607, represents Paolo as of more commanding aspect than those of later date. Full, dark, and very bright eyes, a nose of such peculiar form as to attract the notice of Lavater, the lips

thin, but the head somewhat large in proportion to the person. Though small in stature, the bearing is dignified, and the agreeable and affable expression of this fine countenance is pervaded by modesty and integrity. Paolo suffered much from cold, and generally carried balls of heated iron, enclosed in a small case, which was imitated and is to be seen in the collections of the curions. *

Appendix.

CHAPTER VIII.

A.D. 1607 — A.D. 1608.

DOGE OF VENICE.	Leonardo Donato.
SOVEREIGN OF GERMANY.	Rodolph II.
	GREAT BRITAIN. James I.
	FRANCE. Henry IV.
	SPAIN. Philip III.
	TURKEY. Achmet III.
POPE.	Paul V.

Embassy to Rome. — Complaints of the Pope and Cardinals against Fra Paolo. — Despatches. — Audiences. — The Pope's resolve. — Secret communications. — Fra Paolo attacked. — Council. — Proclamations. — Despatches as to the attack on F. Paolo. — Rewards. — State of religion in Venice. — Letters.

The Pope was still exasperated against Fra Paolo, as appears throughout the despatches of the Ambassador,¹ Francesco Contarini di Bertucci who had gone to Rome immediately after the accommodation. His Excellency had been received with great pomp; his entry into the city was attended by the carriages of nearly one hundred nobles and prelates, and all appeared to evince towards the Republic that good feeling which had been so long forgotten. The Pope had welcomed the Contarini with marked honor, permitted him to kiss his foot and hand, embraced him and begged him to be seated: but beyond compliments, little had passed at several successive receptions. The Cardinals, however, were more open in their communications. Pinelli attacked the works of Fra Paolo, d'Ascoli affirmed, "that he lay awake a whole night through fear of heresy being introduced into Venice." Baronius had suffered in health, since his work had been so ill received. Bellarmine was the only one of the number who appeared anxious to apologize, and showed, " writes the Ambassador, " marvellous courtesy to me. He said that he wished to confide two things to me for his own satisfaction, First that he understands it has been divulged that he counselled the Pope to publish the Monitory against the

*The
Cavala
the
Cardin*

¹ From Rome June 2. 1607. This, and the following MSS. Contarini all in the possession of The Rawdon Brown. Venice.

Republic, but that this was not true; for although the Pope is wont to consult him in cases of conscience in religion, he nevertheless never spoke to him on this subject, nor did he know anything thereof until his Holiness gave account of his resolve in the Consistory, and perhaps the Pope had not spoken to any other Cardinal thereon, and had the decision been communicated to him, his opinion would have indubitably have differed from that which was adopted. Secondly, he merely wrote on these matters in reply to the eight propositions of Marsilio who compelled him; that Marsilio was a man of great daring and little learning, that he did not consider he (Bellarmine) had offered any offence by confuting his errors, that he advised the Pope to a reconciliation before things went too far, and the territories of the Republic were infested with heresy, as he well knew by what way it had entered England, France and other provinces. He thanked God the disputes were adjusted."

Contarini answered, "that the provocation proceeded from Rome, and the Republic permitted the publication of the works;" and he said the eight propositions would not have been published but for the writing printed at Milan, which affirmed that marriages were invalid during the interdict, children illegitimate, et cetera. The Cardinal spoke of Gerson's work being reprinted, which the reader will call to mind was done by order of the Senate, with additions by Fra Paolo. Contarini concludes his letter thus "all wished the Republic well." But it was not long before he found that urgent demands would be made to get possession of the persons of the theologians, "Fra Paolo, Fulgenzio, Marsilio and others; although the Pope had been expressly informed that the Doge would by no means abandon those who supported the rights of the Republic." Paul, however, continued to flatter her with assurances of good will, and apparently Fra Paolo had no cause to fear when he learned that the Pontiff said to Contarini "facts themselves will show, on an opportunity offering, the paternal affection we bear to the Republic, and our wishes for her greatness and prosperity."¹

But the Servite knew better than to trust to these protestations, although another of the theologians had been allured by fair promises to go to Rome, and was at first well received. Fra Paolo saw nothing to tempt him to go thither, although his presence was still required, the Roman court still preserved great secrecy as to the affairs of the Interdict, but the Pope thus expressed himself to the Venetian ambassador.

"We have given commission for nothing more to be uttered about the past, and for the cessation of all further interference about observance or its breach, these were the first orders received from us, and we will repeat

¹ Rome June 9 1607. MSS. Con.

them again. *Recedant Vetera.* Let the past be forgotten, we have absolved all by a general benediction, nor do we choose anything to be said of what is past, promising our selves the like good correspondence in behalf of these Lords, in replacing matters in their former state." So spoke the Pope to the Venetian Envoy.

Assuredly in these words, "we have absolved all by a general benediction," Fra Paolo Sarpi and the other theologians were included. The Pope never mentioned the word Interdict, and the ambassador regarded this as clearly expressive of a desire to place all under perpetual silence. Subsequently, however, Contarini changed his opinion, when the Pope continued to urge his demand on him to remonstrate with the威尼斯人, and said, "warn these Lords, on my behalf, to beware of heresies."¹

In fact, Paul V was evidently well informed of all that passed at Venice by his spies, and that he found it difficult to stem the current of public opinion and public enquiry there; nor has it ever since been wholly stopped. Sarpi had opened up the question, What is truth? The reply to which it has been seen was to be found only in the Holy Scriptures, and he had not only explained them from the pulpit in his native language, but had boldly expressed that the service of the Church ought to be in a language that was understood, and in support of his assertion he appealed to Saint Paul. Paul V did not approve, but Sarpi and his friends continued to annunciate truth. It is a curious fact, but one which sets at rest a long agitated question, that the Ambassador remarks on king James' book (which proves it was extant in 1607), and therefore there is no reason to doubt the statements that Fra Paolo wished Mr. Bedell to present it to the Doge, as before mentioned.

The Pope was greatly annoyed by the king's book, but consoled by Contarini's assurances of its destruction, and whatever hopes the Servite had of its benefit to his countrymen were now at an end. The Venetian Ambassador however was wearied, as well as grieved, by the tedious invectives against Fra Paolo and the other theologians, especially Marsilius, whose upright conduct and firm faith to the Republic appeared likely to bring him into trouble.

On one occasion, when Contarini complained that Fra Paolo's books had been burned at Rome, the Pope was much moved, and affirmed solemnly, "that this had taken place without his knowledge, and that he should not even have heard of it afterwards had not the Cardinal nephew read the *Avisi* to him." Here was a mark of progress by Venice, adopted elsewhere at later period. These *Avisi* were not, as some state, printed, but manuscript sheets of paper containing the news of the day. In Venice

¹ MSS. Contarini 28 June 1607 Bome 7 July.

they were originally sold for a gazetta, a Venetian coin worth two pence, hence called Gazettes; in Rome they bore the name of Avisi or Reporti. They were taken from dispatches received by the Republic by the secretaries, or others employed in the Ducal Chancery, who enjoyed the profits of this sale as a perquisite. The Pope continued to blame the theologians, Contarini to exonerate them, hence we learn that Fra Paolo frequented the British embassy. This was also repeated by the Cardinal Borghese. "We have sure intelligence from Venice how these good Theologians assemble with the Ambassador from England, with English, Flemings, and others infected in the linen warehouse of Cicchinelli, where they have a room, and say the worst they can of us, of the Pope, and of the apostolic chair. This is a thing that is public; one cannot dissemble but that such an assembly is notorious to every one, and even the place and the room are known, which are important details. Let the Lord Ambassador now see what good will these Doctors in Divinity bear us, and be pleased to write to Venice, whether (independently of their having been declared excommunicated for the fine things which they wrote against us which are known to every body, as likewise on account of this assembly wherein from its members one can understand what they say of us) they deserved to be protected and pensioned by the Republic." ¹

The search for and prohibition of books had been relaxed at Venice, this pleased Sarpi, but gave offence to the Pope. He complained to Contarini, who thus wrote to the Doge.

" Most Serene Prince,

" On this occasion, when his Holiness was treating of the Inquisition, looking at me with joyous countenance, he added, we are likewise expecting these Lords to form some holy resolve concerning these theologians (con allegra faccia), who, having written and preached manifest heresies, continue to say mass, to frequent the churches and the choir, and to cause themselves to be considered saints; and that Friar Fulgentio," ² (and this he uttered laughing), ~~he understood~~ has had a portrait of himself printed in copper, with a crucifix in his hand, and it is sold about Venice; your excellency must know it, and indeed it is a source of considerable alms.

" He is moreover excommunicated, particularly having preached that the communion ought not to be frequented, nor confession made so often, blaming the exercise of the Christian doctrine, ~~There~~ are existing here

¹ MSS. Contarini.

² Fulgentio Manfredi.

depositions to this effect, made by divers witnesses *de auditu*. Maestro Paulo is considered so learned, and yet one reads in his works many opinions of authors condemned as heretical by the councils; and the cognizance of similar matters as regards the apostolic chair, as has been customary for so many centuries with regard to matters of faith, wherein it cannot err, our Saviour having said, "Non deficit fides tua." He said it was told him that the English Ambassador had sent the portrait of Fra Paulo to his king, and in Frankfort, where as many Catholic as heretical books are printed, they had placed the book entitled "Le Considerazioni" of the said Fra Paulo amongst the heretical works. That he was urged to permit the execution of what is usual against excommunicated persons, who, at the expiration of a year, are proclaimed heretics and burned in effigy publicly.

"He professed to love the Republic with all his heart, and that he wished to gratify her, as might be deduced by your lordships from the adjustment made, as such was contrary to the opinion of almost all the college of Cardinals and of others, and that although he then armed for war, yet his thoughts were turned to peace; but concerning these theologians he wishes your Serenity to form some resolve becoming your piety. I, seeing that he had this time launched forth beyond his wont on former audiences, replied — Holy father, the point that your Holiness now touches upon is one of great importance; were I to state my sense thereon in full, I should say, with the greatest possible respect, that the best expedient would be not to discuss this matter, by reason of its very great difficulties and consequences of extreme moment as can well be imagined. I will not speak of portraits or similar things, because I have no knowledge thereof; neither does it seem to me of import to dwell thereon, though I shall observe that as your Holiness has removed the occasion of war and disturbance, which fact obtains for you singular merit before the Lord God, and infinite glory in the eyes of good men; you may be pleased moreover to withhold encouragement from those who under pretext of religion wish to see every sort of misunderstanding between your Holiness and the most serene Republic; but I hope in his Divine Majesty that they will not succeed in their perverse designs, and of a surety it will one day be necessary for me to state some details hereof to your Holiness; similar individuals would very willingly desire the burning of effigies, and other similar demonstrations, with a view to the introduction of the greatest possible inconvenience. I know that when that Fra Fulgentio preached, strict investigation was made, and it was reported in the most excellent college that he preached sound and Catholic doctrine, and if he himself confessed and communicated frequently, I do not see how they could tally, the preaching one thing in the pulpit, and the acting in contradiction elsewhere. The

most serene Republic cannot abandon these who have written in her favour, and have served her on the late occasion; so I prayed him by a single stroke to sever or separate himself from the path of malignity, and with his great prudence to apply the true remedy to this tortuous affair.

✓ "The Pontiff said, even with the greatest sweetness, "Con un colpo solo; ogni maggior piacevolezza, bisognarebbe che fosse un colpo da maestro." With a single blow, it must be a master stroke.

Such precisely I enjoined it would be, on proceeding from his Holiness and from his great ability; nor did the same disorders even require the same remedies, circumstances alter matters notably; when ordinary affairs are treated, it is true that the usual terms are adopted; should a private individual be excommunicated, and not act becomingly at the expiration of a year, he is declared an heretic, and one proceeds according to the canons; but in great and extraordinary cases, and which tend beyond, it is necessary to proceed in modes both unusual and peculiar to the time and matter under consideration. So I made sure that with his goodness and prudence he will find the road easy, speedily burying the whole in oblivion, and confounding the evil-born desires of scoundrels. The Pontiff assured me that his thoughts were frequently directed to this end; but he could not discover the way, and that he wished that by me (to use his own words), 'by your Excellency's being replete with such great knowledge and intelligence,' the mode might be suggested to him for acting well concerning such a matter, and in the meanwhile he should continue to pray the Lord God to be pleased to inspire him for the best, although he did not at present see what he could do, and he added those precise words, 'Let them come, for we will willingly embrace them.' The Pope said that I was to write to your Excellencies what he had stated to me.

I assured him that I would obey him, as such was my duty, but that this was *petitio principii*, and a return to the original disorder. I do not at all doubt but that if the Pontiff did discuss these matters, it was at the instigation of others who, under the pretext of good, do not cease to suggest these conceits to his Holiness. At the close of these topics, which passed off with extreme tranquillity, his Holiness began to talk about the Jesuits and their revenues, and asked why they were excluded? To this, amongst other replies, the ambassador Contarini referred the Pope to their treatment of the Republic, calling her in their printed works, the most vile and abject nation in the world. In these matters, concludes his Excellency, although the most disagreeable that can be treated of, the Pontiff nevertheless conducted himself as quietly as possible; and although I every now and then kept answering him contrary to his intention, and excluding all discussion as much as I could, still I listened to the whole without the slightest emotion."

The Contarini despatches of this, and subsequent dates, are but a tissue of complaints on the part of the Pope, and of denial on that of the Venetian envoy. That Fra Paolo believed after the *raising* of the censure by the Cardinal Joyeuse, he was no longer excommunicated by the Pope, is confirmed by a letter to the Cardinal Borghese from the Inquisitor of Ravenna of the sixth of September 1607. The Court of Rome, however, held that the Servite Friar was still excommunicate, and there seems no doubt that the Pope, Camilla Borghese, broke faith with the Friar, Paolo Sarpi. On one occasion it was proposed that he with the other theologians should perform penance. To which the Ambassador answered, " that penance, be it severe or light, implied sin, which the theologians affirmed they had not committed." The state of the papal mind is clearly shown by Contarini's despatch to the Doge. Paul was jealous of the counsels still given by the Servite to Venetia, and appeared resolved at all hazards to press the Doge and Senate to give him up.

" Most Serene Prince, — It having been communicated to me by the French Ambassador, that at his residence last week, the Pope told him that having understood from me, in the course of divers conversations, how slight an inclination exists for giving him satisfaction about the theologians, he had a great desire to terminate in some way the importunities and molestations received by him from sundry quarters, urging the Ambassador to restore the dignity of the Apostolic Chair, thus spurned; added to which he will at the same time find some remedy against these excommunicated individuals celebrating the mass and other divine services; and that I adduced no other remedy save that " by a single stroke," by which he might terminate the whole, but that I did not condescend to any detail, and therefore it was not becoming to keep matters in any obscurity or doubt, to which the Lord Ambassador deemed it necessary to reply, that through his Nuncio, who is on the spot, his Holiness might witness the end thereof, by sending him such authority as would suffice to settle the whole, and in like manner, as many exclaimed before the adjustment, and then were quieted, so would it be likewise in this instance, if entirely settled without further delay, whereupon the Pontiff remained somewhat in suspense, and thanked the Ambassador. His Holiness added that he had thoughts of authorizing the Nuncio to send for the theologians, but that it should be first intimated under hand, whether they would go, so as not to risk the Nuncio's dignity, in case of their refusing, so the Ambassador aforesaid requested I would write to your Serenity, being of opinion that if a promise should be made to this effect, the whole might be shortly settled to mutual satisfaction, meaning to hint precisely as the rest has been arranged, praying me, that all might be kept most secret, as if the Pope's inclination were known

again, very great murmurs would be heard from the Cardinals, who hear these matters according to their own views. I did not refuse to execute what he wished, but observed, that the general reconciliation ought to have sufficed. In virtue thereof these affairs likewise were meant to be pacified, and although the Ambassador is well informed of the whole, nevertheless I omitted again to tell him the necessity for the public protection, the which, in durability, will never fail the ~~and~~ said theologians." *Gratiæ &c.*¹

Although it was partly obvious to the Ambassador that the Court of Rome was uneasy, and it seemed as if there might shortly be a rupture with Venice, still Contarini does not appear to have been suspicious of any immediate danger to Fra Paolo; nevertheless he feared that all was not well, by the multiplicity of letters which came to Rome from Venice. Upon one occasion, the Ambassador, having warmly taken the part of the theologians, the Pope said, "Do not exert yourself my Lord Ambassador, I admit all that has been said, I am most ready for every good, but cannot condescend at present. I believe you saw the drift of what I said before, that I should have it said of me now, that I concede the tenths to the Republic. It is but a question of three or four cases of this sort, in the course of the year, which do not at all prejudice the authority and jurisdiction of the Republic. The Procurator of the Servi has informed us, that in the monastery in Venice, by order of the Lords, Chiefs of the ten, that there have been officers to inspect all the writings; when laymen perform these functions, there is no longer any occasion to maintain Priors, nor Generals of the Orders. The Patriarch comes not; the Theologians still perform divine service in contempt of the Holy Chair, although excommunicated, not forsooth for having written the Republic's reasons, as, had they limited themselves to this alone, it would have pleased and gratified us, but because of the heresies which they have uttered publicly, That temporal princes have power direct from God over ecclesiastics. This is an infidel proposition, condemned by the High Pontiffs with the assent of men remarkable for their learning who have written thereon. Monsignore, the Nuncio mentions, having spoken in the College about a priest of Ascola, who has been put in prison, and yet, there are the Bishops to whom these trials should be left." All this proved that every thing done at Venice was known at Rome, all that Contarini could do was, to give respectful advice of all that might reach his notice. Of the same date is a singularly incoherent, but curious and secret communication, addressed to the Doge Leonardo Donato by him from Rome, September 29, 1607.

" Most Serene Prince, — I send to your Serenity, here annexed, what

¹ Sep. 15. 1607 — both from Rome, 28 Sep. 1607. MSS. Contarini.

has been told me in confidence, about a certain machination to be executed in Venice, or shortly distant thence, with other details, which such as they may be, I have not chosen to keep to myself, but for every good end have deemed them worthy of your cognizance, and should anything else be communicated to me, I shall not fail to give advice thereof.

“ In Rome, 25th September, in the Palace of S. Mark, Messer Flavio Martignone, of ~~Casso~~ Ferrato, late ancient Cattaro, with the Lord Colonel Giulio da Mont Abolto, now resident here in Rome for his private affairs, having come to the Most Excellent the Lord Ambassador, deposed having first made the greatest possible instance for its being kept very secret, which was *constantly* promised him.

“ I have served the Most Serene Republic; I have received good treatment, and purpose re-entering her service, I shall go in a month at the farthest, I shall betake myself either to the said Lord Colonel at Zara, or to Venice, from my own instinct, I revere the Most Serene Republic as much as if ~~it~~ were my natural sovereign, and with zeal for her welfare, I am come to notify what I know of an affair which I deem of great importance.

“ Last year, at the time of the disturbance between the Pope and the Republic, there was in the garrison of the Rovigo a captain named Fulvio Cesenari, of ~~Pieti~~ in Umbria. He was imprisoned with an ancient of his, called there Rotilio Orlandini of Terni, they being accused of a plot to surrender Rovigo to the General of Ferrara, and they were released; yet, I am sure they had this understanding with the Signor Paulo ~~S.~~ Savelli, the general of Ferrara, for here in Rome I have seen letters written at that time in Rovigo, and signed by the said captain and ancient, whereby they promised the said ~~S.~~ Savelli to give the town (Rovigo) into his hands, saying that they had two or three gates in their power, and that they had the soldiers of their company (200, if I mistake not) in readiness. ”

Being interrogated, he replied,

“ I saw no other detail in the letters, they appeared to have been written previously, and several letters had passed, indeed, I know that the ancient had been repeatedly to Ferrara; they said in the letter that they were ready to give him the town whensover he should present himself. ”

Being interrogated, he replied,

“ I saw this letter at the time here in Rome, when the general sent it to his brother, for him to show it to the Pope. It was shown to me by his secretary, my intimate friend. After that, the ancient and the captain were released from prison. Rovigo, the captain, was sent with his company to Padua, where he still is, and the ancient came here, with a safe conduct from the Pope, for he was an unfrocked friar of St. Paul’s ” (one of those friars dressed in black, with wide sleeves) “ and a highwayman; his true name is Achille Orlandini, of Scantriglia, a small castle in this Campagna,

twenty-five miles distant from hence. In his order he was called Friar Arsenio. He was not ordained; but at Rovigo changed his name to Rotilio, as I have stated. Being here in Rome (for he came for a week or a fortnight, and resided permanently at his village), he received absolution for himself and for two of his brothers-in-law, natives of his village, who were banished, I know not why. Neither do I know their names. I was acquainted with this ancient when he was a friar and, since, and conversed with him after his return to Rome, and have eaten with him several times. The last time I saw him was on Friday, the 21st inst., and he told me that he was to leave us to-day for Venice with these two his brothers-in-law; they are little dark men, dressed in grey or russet cloth as peasants, I will, moreover, endeavour to bring you their names. He invited me to go with him, and told me that he was going to do a certain deed, and that he had been promised 8,000 crowns. I answered him as if undecided, and this I did in order to learn the details better, but he never spoke to me more openly, save that he was therefore taking with him those two brothers-in-law, and on Friday he told me he had received a letter for the said monies to be paid in Ferrara, immediately after the execution of the deed. I am not able to discover for certain whether this deed is to be done in, or out of Venice, but he is going to Venice."

Being interrogated, he said,

" He is not going post, nor in haste, indeed from what he said he will remain three or four days in Ferrara, and perhaps in passing through Ferrara will go to his captain."

Being interrogated, he replied,

" He is going to do this deed by order of the masters here, he says he has spoken with the Pope, but he certainly negotiated with the Secretary Della Consulta, for he, that is to say the ancient, has told me so several times."

Being interrogated, he replied,

" I think this deed which he has to do is some murder, for he told me he shall do all in an hour; he moreover appeared not to intend residing in Venice, but out in the country to await time and opportunity, and he likewise spoke to me in such a manner that I may also suppose it his intention to wait until that person, or those whom he may mean to kill, shall go out. I have nothing else to communicate; but they are all three vassals of the Signor Giovanni Orsino, in whose house I dwell, and who is expected from his castle in ten days or a fortnight, and on his arrival, I shall elicit something else from some of his servants, for I pass for the confident of these men, and will come and tell your lordship."

Being interrogated, he replied,

" Besides the letter which I saw, written by the captain and by this

man to Savelli about betraying Rovigo to him, this said ancient spoke to me of the plot, but without coming to details, save that he and the captain would have been rich."

Being interrogated, he said,

"He did not mention to me any other in the plot save himself and the captain, neither soldiers nor others, but there must have been some concerned. Concerning this affair which he is now going to perpetrate, he says, It is known to him alone, and that he has not even spoken to his brothers-in-law, and that he does not choose to tell them anything until the hour for action. He took them away, saying that he meant to take them to his company, whereof he is ancient, and that they should have pay."

Being again interrogated about the outward appearance of these two, *seems* *here*, he answered,

"Little men, but very stout or corpulent, black, furrowed, black beards, chestnut-brown, and thin; they are both aged from thirty five to forty years. As to the ancient, he is dressed in drab with gold lace, he has a black cloak, and his hat likewise has a gold band. He is tall of stature, marked with the small-pox, brown beard, very little mustachios, from thirty three to thirty four years old; he is lame, do not know on which side; he lamed himself in prison at Rovigo; on the journey they carry long arquebuses; they will subsequently supply themselves at Ferrara. I shall endeavour also to make friends with a certain favourite of his, and shall report with that readiness which becomes my affection and respect."

It is remarkable that the day after the Ambassador Contarini wrote to inform the Doge and Senate that he had dined in the most friendly manner with the Cardinal Borghese at Frascati, an event took place at Venice disgraceful to all concerned. The French Ambassador, who was friendly to Fra Paolo, also entertained Contarini with an account of his late audience with the Pope, who had then asserted that the Doge was in treaty with him for a safe place where Fra Paolo and the other theologians might discuss what they had published.

"Most Serene Prince. To show that I held account of the invitation given to me by the Lord Cardinal Borghese, to go to dine with him at Frascati, I determined on so doing yesterday, and so much the more was I induced thus to act, inasmuch as with such an opportunity I should be enabled to execute your Serenity's commissions to the French ambassador, whom I likewise found in the same neighbourhood of Frascati, in a house belonging to the Duke d'Altemps, rather more than a mile distant from the Pontiff's. He informed me that on the preceding day his Holiness had told him that your Serenity was making suit about a safe place for the theologians to dispute on the topics they had published, and put into

print. I expressed my surprise how this should have been uttered, since neither in Venice nor here, had any discussion been held to this effect; nay, that owing to your Serenity's great wish to put an end to similar and other discourse, productive of the worst consequences, you had commanded me to request him (since he had laboured and exerted himself so much in the past commotions) to use his endeavours with the Pontiff to give the finishing stroke to this matter, relying on his prudence and dexterity that, having overcome greater difficulties, he would in like manner terminate this, which alone remained of the past fluctuations, conferring thus a very great obligation on the Republic.

" To this instance the French ambassador replied, that His Majesty ¹ had written to him about a conversation held with the Ambassador Priuli, wherein he exhorted him to find means for finishing the disputes current on this point, that he must speak not only in conformity with the king's sentiments, but that he likewise, individually, views it in the same light as similar impediments to a good understanding with the Pontiff, and gives matter for great joy to the common enemies; and that it seems impossible to him that your Serenity should be unable to find the means (consisting as such do merely in appearance) for satisfying his Holiness, who would fain justify himself with the world, and with the members of the Inquisition in particular; to whom he cannot but make a show of giving some sort of satisfaction, since it is a matter pertaining to that office, to whose resolves he must defer.

" I observed that the whole adjustment rests merely in the Pope's hands, who may very easily absorb and terminate the business in divers manners, and as to the Congregation, if he settled the principal part of the matter, without communicating with the Congregation, or, indeed, without the whole college of Cardinals, by so much the more can he do in this instance, in such wise as shall be well known to his prudence; and the saying, he had regard for the congregation, was like His Most Christian Majesty saying that the Parliament do not choose such a thing, although when he pleases he does without them. So likewise can the Pontiff communicate and give such share as he shall please to the Congregation, observing such style as shall be deemed most fitting, by declaring these theologians included under this universal reconciliation. It had always been believed at Venice that they were included. Whence I passed on to make him a very long speech about the causes that induce your Serenity to protect them, without your being able in this respect to form any other resolve soever; that in supporting the Republic's rights, if any proposition was inserted that does not please, they purpose choosing to defend it

¹ MSS. Contarini, From Rome, Oct. 6. 1607.

entirely; but that it was not fitting to enter thereon, as it would be a voluntary submersion into an abyss of inconvenience and disorder, that your Serenity is the much more bound to adhere to this, inasmuch as the churchmen, who through your goodness have now returned into your territories, go daily resuscitating fresh ills, whereto you are of sheer necessity compelled to apply the due remedies; and I told him of the daring attempts of those Theatines of Bergamo, at which he was much surprised, and I came to this conclusion, that your Serenity has reason for keeping very much on the watch, and also for supporting those who, postponing all their own interests and regards, defended the justice of your cause, exhorting him to persuade the Pontiff at once to cut off all negotiations, and to dispose himself towards favouring the Republic in her honest demands, as since my residence at the court I experience harshness, even in my most reasonable demands and offices, nor can I obtain that good fruit which I expected for the common weal. The ambassador of France evinced no slight regret at what he heard through these statements which I made him, and in particular, remarked of his own accord, that the Pontiff has done ill in not giving satisfaction in the matter of this vacancy, occasioned by the death of the lord abbot Pesaro, and he was so persuaded in other respects, that he promised to speak thereon fully and freely, and use his endeavours to terminate the affairs of the theologians, the which concluded, he doubted not but that all would pass off well, and that one would indubitably obtain from the Pontiff all that could be laid claim to; one will keep awaiting the consequence of his offices, which, if they result in conformity with the wish evinced by him for exerting himself strenuously, cannot fail to be such as desired. *Gratiæ &c.* ”

We now pass from the friendly offers of the French envoy to Venice, where we find another individual warning Sarpi against danger. The name of Scioppius is almost proverbial as a satirist; embittered against the Pope he endeavored to convince Paolo of the impossibility of his escape from his wrath, that he, like other princes, could easily reach out his hands against him, and if he wished to take his life, there was no lack of means; but he thought Paul still wished to take Fra Paolo alive, to seize him at Venice and conduct him to Rome, and he concluded by offering to bring about an honorable reconciliation between the Pope and the Servite.

To all this Fra Paolo answered, as he had often before said, That he had done nothing by which the Pope could be offended, that he had pleaded for a just cause, that he was sorry the defence had met the indignation of the Pope, but that he was prepared to submit to the divine will, and was not so ignorant of human affairs as not to know what he ought to think of life and death, that if he was taken alive to Rome, all the power of the Pope could not hinder a man being more master of his life

than others could be, that he was resolved to be master of his own life, and that the Pope should not be so. He thanked Scioppius for his good offices, but expressed himself inseparably united to the interests of the state.

" The proposals of killing him, or taking him alive to Rome appeared strange, but what followed clearly showed Scioppius had good grounds for his assertions, and that designs against Paolo were already really ripe for execution. The satirist left Venice; and in a satire narrated his conversation with the Friar, and bore witness to his being non indoctum non timidum."

But the Father, who was so good as not to be able to think evil of any one, believed the above menace to be merely a conceit of Scioppius, and being a man of great intrepidity, although often warned by the Lord Inquisitors of State, who are the chief magistrates of Venice and have charge of the most secret transaction of designs against life, yet apparently he did not take any care of himself; either, from his great nobility of mind of which writes Fulgenzio, " I can vouch and have often experienced it," or, from his certain conviction that nothing can happen without Divine permission, and that what is appointed by God, cannot be hindered by any human caution or foresight, but that too much anxiety and caution are frequently the causes of contrary events, he never was inclined to change his mode of life in the smallest particular, and would always remark that it was indifferent to him in what manner he died, only, that he died justly, because he was sure that in no way death could ever find him unprepared.

" As usual he pursued his daily toil at the Ducal palace, and at this time walked from Saint Mark's to his Convent in the evening: but his friends would not suffer him to go alone: and this is not surprising, considering the reports that had reached them that there were designs against his life; he was frequently accompanied by the noble Malpietro, who although aged was a man of intrepid spirit, and of piety and worth: if we are to judge of Fra Paolo's friendship for him by his grief at his death, he must have been one of his chosen friends.

" It was late on the evening of the fifth of October that Paolo, in company with Malpietro, Fra Fulgenzio, and his servant, Fra Marino went on foot from the Palace to the Merceria together; and from thence Fra Paolo, Malpietro and Fra Marino continued their way. They had crossed the small square of the San Fosca and had arrived at the bridge of la Guerra, very near the Convent. Malpietro had walked a little in advance of Fra Paolo, who was followed at a short distance by his servant, Marino. On the bridge, while descending it on the north side, Fra Paolo was suddenly assaulted by five assassins, some keeping guard in a boat while the others

wounded him in the neck with their stilettos, and with one in the face, which entered the right ear and came out in the small hollow which lies between the nose and the right cheek. The assassin could not withdraw his stiletto, because it had passed through the bone where it remained transfixed. It was more than three months since the Father had been accompanied, besides Fra Marino a lay brother who was his servant, by Fra Fulgenzio and by the valorous Malpietro. Notwithstanding the continual warnings given to the Father to take care of himself, the Friars who accompanied him, did so entirely regardless of personal harm because they knew that they did well in defending a cause which was notoriously just, believing, that when the violence of the controversy was past, no one could be so impious as to presume after so solemn an accommodation, that princes had not always about them learned and zealous advocates to defend them with as little fear of assassins, as themselves. On this evening the Father was left by Fulgenzio and his companion, because Fra Fulgenzio wished to see a fire which had been burning during two days in a house in the Saliciati of San Lio, in the middle of the street which leads to the Merceria, and on hearing that the fire was not yet extinguished, he came back to seek the Father to take him to see it.

“ But Fulgenzio, having stayed long, thought the Father might have gone home by the San Lio, and he was thus left alone with one companion, who being behind him, was seized by one of the murderers who held his hands, while the other stabbed the Father, and as he expected mortally.

“ The ruffian having left his stiletto in the wound, he and his companions raised their guns to fire on any of the populace who might give an alarm, after this they left Fra Marino free, but on seeing three of the assassins unsheathe their arms, without saying a word, he ran away.”

Notwithstanding the pains thus taken by the assassins to murder Fra Paolo while walking by himself, and then to effect their escape, the whole transaction was seen by some women at a window, who immediately raised a cry for help; on this Malpietro turned round, what a spectacle met his sight! Fra Paolo stunned, bleeding and defenceless in the midst of armed ruffians, and wounded apparently to death by the dagger which still lay buried in the noble head from which streamed his blood, but happily not his life blood. His foes had not so completely triumphed, the intrepid Servite was deeply but not mortally wounded: stunned, but not slain, nature was exhausted but not overcome, well might his companion and friend marvel at his escape. “ Fifteen thrusts which were reckoned up by the holes in his doublet and hood,” told to the world the deadly aim which had been taken against Fra Paolo, but as he had only received three wounds in the neck, besides that on his face, one cannot help seeing a mark of divine providence which deprived the murderer both of his

strength and senses, as he might with one high powerful thrust either in his side or back have killed this innocent and helpless man.¹

He afterwards said that the two first blows of the stiletto were given as if at the same moment, and the third as if a ponderous weight had fallen upon him and stunned him, and he was quite overcome on reaching his Convent, although in the full possession of his senses, he was stretched on his bed from whence it was very long before he arose again.

The tidings of his attempted assassination soon reached the ears of the government, and immediate steps were taken to obtain evidence of this lamentable event. That given by Malpietro is of great interest, and its date shows that this witness was called instantly.

Having been brought before their Excellencies, the most noble Signor Alessandro Malpietro declared as follows:—

“ May it please your Excellencies—I was in the Marzaria, with Messer Paolo di Servi, to day, about the twenty second hour. We joined company to go together to our houses, being neighbours, and the Father had a lay brother with him. We were at Santa Fosca, on the Bridge della Guerra, at the last steps leading downwards, when a man rushed to the right hand side where the Father was, and took aim at his face; I thought he had given him a blow, and I heard the Father say, ‘ Oh! ’ and the other say, ‘ Dog! traitor! ’ and, raising my eyes, for I was walking with my head bent downwards, I saw the Father with the stiletto, which I now hold, fixed in the ear near his nose, and the assailant by him. I thrust myself between them, and put my hand upon the stiletto and drew it out; then, turning to the fellow, who had, I think, two companions, if not more, I said, ‘ Ah, you traitorous dogs, do you assassinate men in this way? ’ and again I turned to the people who were beginning to flock toward us, and said, ‘ After them, boys! ’ whereupon the men, seeing me take up the defence, stood still a minute, and then turned off towards San Marciliano. I hastened to the Father, and led him into a house near at hand, where his wounds were dressed by a barber; then we took a boat, and I went home with him to his convent, together with the physician of the convent, that is to say, Santorio, and the barber who first dressed his wounds, the physician arriving suddenly on the spot. The man who gave the blow was square-built; his face seemed rubicund; his beard red, inclining to chestnut; his stature tall, rather than short. Some persons have affirmed that he wore a linen mask over his face; but, from the weakness of my sight, I could take but little note of him, and still less of his companions, not even of the clothes they wore.”

Being asked, if he knew any one who was present at the deed above

¹ MS.

described, he answered, that there were several women and other persons who dwelt near, but that he did not know them. This account from the Processi Criminali, Council of Ten, Venetian Archives, must be taken in connection with the Contarini MSS. and Count Sagredos Saggio di R. Brown in L'Archivio di Venezia. Sir Henry Wotton told the Doge that the blow was struck by a Scotchman, who went by the name of Giovanni of Florence, a son of Poma. It is impossible to describe the horror and indignation of the people of Venice on learning that Fra Paolo was reported to be mortally wounded; and to have seen how the matter was taken was admirable: the whole city was in a broil, the Council was called frequently during the night, the chiefest of the Senate flocked to the monastery where the wounded Father lay, and the next day the people met every where in clumps and in clusters talking of this matter. The professor of anatomy and chirurgery, Acquapendente, a man of great age, learning and experience was sent for by public counsel, from Padua, and associated with other physicians for the cure of his wound.¹ And it must have been painful indeed to Bedell to see his wounded friend, and to reflect why these wounds were given! "The first thing Fra Paolo did was to express a wish to take the Holy Communion on the following morning, which he did with the deepest humility, begging all the Fathers who wept around him, to excuse him if on account of his wound he could not speak so much as he wished, that he might shew his grief for his sins and seek pardon of God, and when the Advocate, Signor Giro-lamo Trevisano came by order of the government, to take his deposition, the Father told him that he had no enemy that he knew of, nor had he known any, and he entreated the Council of Ten that as he pardoned the man who had offended him, they would do nothing further than merely to guard him more securely, if it pleased God to prolong his life.

"According to his usual mode of avoiding ostentation, he had wished only one young doctor, Signor Alviso Ragosa, to attend him; he was skilful, had a light hand, and applied light ligatures, but his condition, and the public opinion of him constrained him to submit to the care of all the most celebrated doctors, and surgeons in Venice, besides those who came from Padua, and Acquapendente was commanded to remain at the Convent till the danger was passed, but the Father continued long between life and death. Not only were his wounds of a very serious nature, but he was so attenuated that he was like a skeleton, one could count his bones distinctly, his great loss of blood left him almost bloodless and for more than twenty days he remained

¹ Bedell. Letter.

nearly motionless and almost unable to raise his hand. There was also another unfortunate circumstance attending Fra Paolo's illness which must have retarded his recovery, and that was the multiplicity of doctors, from whom the poor patient suffered as much as from the wound, some of his advisers thought the blackness of the lips of the wound evinced the thrust of a poisoned weapon, others that inflammation had been produced by treacle in the medicines given, to all this Fra Paolo submitted without a murmur, and with his usual piety and firmness edified all who saw him.¹ On the same evening on which he was wounded he asked for the stiletto which had remained fixed in his head, and having felt it he immediately said, It is not filed!

A report afterwards spread that the assassins were taken and many could tell how he was grieved, fearing that such a scandal would bring discredit on religion, as it was currently said that they went immediately to the Nuncio's house.

Throughout his illness he never once gave a sign of suffering pain, although it was necessary to cut or probe deeply, the wounds being very deep, and the bone of the upper jaw being broken; it remained fractured, and when the wound appeared inclined to heal, nature formed abscesses to discharge the splinters, and there was considerable inflammation; there were scars both of the ingress and egress of the weapon.²

Even Every thing was done that it was possible for devoted friends, munificent nobles, rich citizens, and a generous people who regarded Fra Paolo with almost superstitious veneration to do to convince him of how much he was beloved, Even his enemies could not deny this tribute to him, they were forced to reecho the praise of their suffering foe, whose lips poured forth blessings on them. Who shall tell what lessons were gathered from that bed of agony? Around him might be seen the greatest senators, and those in more humble life, all listening to him, or praying that he might be restored to health.

The Signor Malpietro wished to take possession of the stiletto, because it was he that took it out of the wound, but in consideration

¹ I examined the Processi Criminali, of 5-10 October 1607: "Which contain, at great length, the investigation of the attempted assassination of Fra Paolo Sarpi... One circumstance mentioned in the investigation curiously illustrates the manners of the day. A druggist was commissioned to ascertain if the dagger was poisoned; and, in due time, reported to the Council of Ten that he had tried it on a dog and on a chicken, and that, as both these patients were convalescent, he hoped the theologian of the Republic would recover also." Calendar, Rawdon Brown, Pref., p. 37.

² MS.

of his preservation which if not a miracle, at least showed a particular demonstration of Divine Providence and special care of the innocent Father, he was content that it should be hung at the foot of a Crucifix,¹ where it still hangs with this inscription,

CHRISTO LIBERATORE.

Chris

The Nuncio sent early information of the attempt on Fra Paolo's life to the Cardinal Borghese as follows. "Very late yesterday evening Fra Paolo Sarpi was stabbed by two or three thrusts, they say that he is not in danger, but they are not certain. The Council of Ten have passed a law by which they say publicly that they have indicted some persons whom they believe to have committed the offence: there is a great uproar in the city and they shew themselves greatly displeased, he being greatly beloved. The Servite friars have hung the dagger with which Fra Paolo was stabbed to a Crucifix which is above their altar in the church, with these words "Deo Filio Liberatori." I send the new volume by R. P. S. and his usual advisers.

"October 6, 1607."

When with vigorous wrench the aged Malpietro drew the stiletto from the Father's wound, he perceived two of the assassins running down the street S. Mazziliani and thence to the Misericordia, at the end of which lay their gondola, and their companions; they all took refuge in the house of the Papal Nuncio resident in Venice, but it was only by protection of the Council of Ten that the Nuncio's house was saved from a violent assault by the infuriated people, the same night they passed to the Lido, where they found a boat which they had prepared waiting for them: it was a well armed flat boat, with ten oars, in which they went towards Ferrara, but they were not pursued with sufficient speed owing to some comedians having played that night at the San Luigi where an opera (which they call "opera con intermezzo") was performed. All the neighborhood had gone to it, so that there were not the usual passers by in the streets of Santa Fosca, and these circumstances gave the murderers great facility to escape, although the government was unremitting in its efforts to capture them.

The chief of the murderers was Ridolfo Poma, who had been a merchant of Venice, and esteemed a man of honour, but becoming bankrupt, he had retired to Naples to recover some debts, and from thence he had

¹ MS.

gone to Rome where he was welcomed. It was a cause of wonder that he was so intimate with Cardinal Borghese, who introduced him to his uncle the Pontiff and by whose favour two of his daughters, who had been left in the States of Venice, were received as nuns; and his friends were still more astonished when he wrote that he had recovered his debts and that they would soon see him a Cardinal. Besides Poma, there were Alessandro Parasio of Ancona, Giovanni of Florence, the son of Paolo, and Pasquale de Bitonto, also a soldier. They were men well fitted for such deeds, as they were all outlaws. Their spy, or guide, was a priest, Michel Viti, a Bergamasco, who officiated in the church of the Holy Trinity, in Venice; and by whom there is no doubt that this deed had been planned for many months before it came to light, because this priest came every morning during Lent to the Convent of the Servi, under pretence of liking the preaching of Fra Fulgenzio. He came to the door of the pulpit, which corresponds to the inner part of the Convent, and conversed courteously with Fra Fulgenzio, and sought counsel as to some scruples of conscience, and he continued to go to his Convent to visit him and to converse on spiritual matters.

Before the successful issue of this execrable act, Fra Fulgenzio had observed, and that innumerable times, as he came home with the Father and his companion, that he encountered Fra Michel Viti on the bridge of S. Fosca, sometimes here and sometimes there, now with one soldier, then with two, who proved afterwards to be the murderers above mentioned.

And because Fra Fulgenzio saw him frequently look intently at the Father, and often return to look back at him, Fra Fulgenzio warned him, but the Father repressed his curiosity as showing too much suspicion.¹

On the tenth of October sentence against the assassins was decreed by the Council of Ten in the form of a proclamation, promising large rewards to those who took them alive.²

This was followed by a public edict for the better security of Fra Paolo who still continued in great bodily suffering.

"Proclamation by the Republic of Venice to secure the personal safety of R. M. Paulo, Servite and Professor of Theology, according to the resolution of the Senate, 27th day of October, 1607."

The above Proclamation by the Prince, was laid before the Senate for deliberation, on the 27th October, 1607.

¹ MS.

² Appendix.

"In reference to the atrocious attempt at assassination, with design to take the life of R. P. M. Paolo, of our Republic, by well-known wicked and insidious means, and according to the usual gracious protection which we are accustomed to grant to those of our subjects, who with self devotion and fidelity render good and honourable service to the Republic, as the worthy P. Paulo, a person of distinguished learning, great courage and virtue, and of exemplary life has done, we desire, in addition to the public deliberations already made, to make known, and by still further proof to testify how dear his personal safety is to our Republic. Therefore we cause it to be publicly proclaimed, that if in future, any person or persons shall be found, of any degree or condition whatsoever, who shall be so bold, as for the future to attempt to attack in any place or manner whatsoever, without exception, either in this city or any other place of our State, the aforesaid P. M. Paolo, he, or they, who in defence of this Father takes or kills any such person or persons who attack him, shall claim, if he consign them dead (they being legally proved amenable to justice), the sum of two thousand ducats, taken from the property of the delinquent or delinquents, if they have any (which property shall be accounted as if confiscated) and if they have not any, from the monies of the public treasury to be paid immediately. And on consigning them alive, they shall receive four thousand ducats as aforesaid, from the said monies of the public treasury, to be paid immediately. And if any one shall make known to justice, any person or persons, who shall treat of, plan, or come to this city with intent to injure the said P. M. Paolo in any way whatever, if any culprit be taken, tried, and punished, the informer shall receive in the aforesaid manner the same sum of two thousand ducats from the treasury, and if he be an accomplice, he shall go unpunished, and secrecy shall be observed. It being our resolve and will, that the meritorious P. M. Paolo, as well as any other subject, who has faithfully and effectually served and serves the Republic, shall be respected, and entitled by his own merit to public protection. 29th October, 1607. Published on the stairs of S. Marco, and of the Rialto, by Paschel di Bianchi, Comandator."

The words, "any person or persons of any degree or condition whatsoever, who shall be so bold as to attempt," etc., etc., the life of P. M. Paolo, did not escape observation, and it was evident that the Doge and Senate of Venice, intended the above proclamation to include all.

Now let the reader turn for a little time to the Ducal palace, and mark the countenances of the friends of Sarpi, the aged Donato, the eloquent Morosini, and those of the Council of Ten and their Secretaries

who saw the secret communications from the Contarini, no doubt but that words of surprise or angry exclamation burst from their lips when they read their Ambassador's letter of this date. Miserable as was the employment, Contarini did not shrink from his duty, but recorded his endeavors in various and numerous despatches to the Doge and Senate and Council of Ten which testify a sincere love of his country and justice to the man whose only crime was, that he had striven for his country's weal.

" Most Serene Prince,

" For the due execution of what your Serenity enjoins me, by letters dated the 6th inst., received on the day before yesterday, and moreover for the vent of my own personal sympathy and affection, which has been greatly agitated by so momentous an accident as has been that which has befallen the person of M. Paul, I shall be most vigilant for the investigation of everything that shall seem to me fitting, through all channels, especially through that one which made the first statement to me, as I respectfully notified in my letters of the 29th ult., who, moreover, told me this week that one of the brothers-in-law of the aforesaid ancient, who left this with him, is Grandonio. I have likewise heard from a confident of mine, a resident in Ancona, that Alessandro Parassio, one of the proclaimed assassins, was outlawed at Ancona about two years ago, for having harboured some homicides in his house; and, on some little property of his being confiscated, it was saved by his sisters, resident at Venice in the house of certain merchants, named Gottardi, his relations; and he was a bravo by profession, having fought several times, as well in Ancona as at Venice. Poma, likewise one of the proclaimed, was seen in this city about the month of June last; and, from what I have hitherto been able to elicit, it seems that he then left for Naples, his departure being attributed to his finding himself half a bankrupt. Gratiae &c.

" Rome, 13 Oct., 1607."

The next letter opens with the very warm expression of his feelings, " on hearing of the villany committed on the person of the M. Paulo of the Servites, " and the ambassador " trusts in God that he may be able to penetrate it. " The Pope had again blamed the theologians; but, such was the fear of the ambassador for the Pope, that he adds, " I have deemed it expedient to pass the whole over in silence, waiting for a better opportunity. The Inquisitor deplored F. P.'s accident. I sent the Secretary to him, who said he bore him no ill will; and said that he had asked him,

through the Procurator General of the Servites, to come to Rome a month ago, and that he would be caressed and well received, and the affair terminate reputably for the Republic.

"He suspects, not indeed by senators and intelligent noblemen, but by the people, that it may be supposed to proceed hence, a supposition which could not enter the minds of judicious persons as there is no similar example on record, either by word or deed, in any century, for that the Church does not proceed by these indirect and diabolical means; he, the Inquisitor, was, therefore, annoyed by the vulgar, who are blindly carried away by every sinister idea. But he considered it as certain that, as the crime had been committed by three, some, if not all, would be taken; and that the truth of the fact, moreover, would not be known through other channels; and he observed, as Maestro Paulo was not known to have any enemies, it may be conjectured that this may have been plotted by some of his friars, on account of some disgust and monkish persecution, and that his opinion was shared by the Cardinal Zappata, with whom he had held a long conversation."

The Ambassador, Contarini, also enclosed, for the perusal of the Council of Ten, part of a letter from Rimini, in which the assassins are spoken of as "those three who gave it to the theologians, and were here on Friday evening, flying from death, God help them!"¹ and further, Contarini enclosed in one of his dispatches a deposition of Flavio's which speaks for itself.² "The men who wounded Fra Paolo passed before me in two carriages with long and short arquebuses, boasting of having killed Fra Paolo, and they had a passport from the Legate of Bologna that they might carry their weapons through the Papal States. They had their arquebuses and pistols ready loaded, even at table. Poma was recognized, as also his son dressed as a Priest, and one Parasio of Ancona (*all Pomas*) who acted as his oil broker at Venice. The hosts said if they had known of the sentence they would have killed them." Lengthened investigations were continued by the Ambassador and his Secretary during the darkness of night, and all these were carefully reported. The murderers had arrived at Rome but they were not seen in public, the Pope being perturbed on learning what an impression was made on a leading personage by their presence, orders were consequently given that they were not to remain in Rome another hour. Contarini did not spare rewards, he bestowed eight golden crowns on the aforementioned informer Flavio,

¹ MSS. Contarini.

² MSS. Contarini.

who gave it as his opinion that the man who wounded Fra Paolo in the face, was one of the most villainous and murderous beings in the world, adding "from what I have heard he is to commit another fine assassination besides this, he is considered a good *brave* by certain outlaws from the march of Ancona. This man was to get a copy of his absolution, and a copy of the bank bill on the monies paid."¹ The assassins were urged to discover who sent this villain; secrecy was promised and Contarini thinks it certain these are the men. Flavio had spoken to the Pope, and as to who sent them. "*I entertain no doubt on that score,*" writes the Ambassador; and Flavio was again appointed to come to his Secretary's apartments at a late hour. He had also obtained information "from a postillion who stated his name to be Giovanni Andrea, of Fano, sent with this post's letters, as postillion, by the courier to Venice, but had stayed behind on account of illness; he said that the courier had told him that last Sunday evening five persons supped and slept at the same inn, a priest namely Michael Viti, and three men, two of these dressed as mariners. Of these three, one was Ridolfo Poma, head assassin, the two boatmen, named Matteo the Slavonian, and Pietro of San Giustina, and a lad, Poma's son, who according to his judgment as well as that of the host are those who fled on account of the wounds given in Venice to Fra Paolo, and that they arrived in the evening and left in the morning in a carriage for Loretto."

A letter to the Council of Ten from his Excellency informs us of the rewards given to the assassins, and later, a discussion had taken place as to the Theologians of Venice, "but the transactions of the Inquisition were kept so secret, that all which transpired was, that there was to be some delay."² Parasio had been seen in Rome, and it was said that Poma meant "to print that he made his determination not at the instigation of others, but for the service of the Lord God."

To the Council of Ten.

"Most Serene Prince,

"A nephew of M. Bastone, the Papal Nuncio, has informed a person here, his confidant, that by order of His Holiness the Nuncio, his uncle has been commissioned to obtain from the Viceroy, the grant

¹ MSS. Contarini, October 1607.

² MSS. Contarini, Nov. 24. Dec. 10-15.

of an annual pension to the scoundrels who committed the act of assassination on the person of the Father Paul, and the assignment of 1,500 crowns was to be made forthwith at Bari, and although I gave an account to the Most Excellent Senate, I nevertheless deemed it well to omit from what quarter such news reached me, though I consider it my duty on every account to give respectful notice thereof to your Serenity, and in like manner as I certify to the nephew of the Nuncio, having made the communication aforesaid, so in other respects I am at a loss at this moment for the means of ascertaining the entire truth of these commissions; but present them to your Excellencies as I receive them, as I moreover shall give you notice, that the news of the arrival of the said scoundrels at Bitonto, whereof I also informed the Most Excellent Senate, is contained in a letter to the Cardinal Gemfasio, written to him by the very Reverend the Bishop of Bitonto, in the following precise words, 'that through the arrival there of the man who gave the wounds to that Friar Paul of Venice, he has discovered the individual who assassinated a brother of his, and that he will endeavour to make him pay his weekly account.' Gratiae etc.

"From Rome, 24th November 1607."

The President at Naples informed the Ambassador that one of the murderers, Pasquale of Bitonto, is in that city, and Poma is expected there shortly to carry on a certain law suit. Poma, by a letter of his, is in great fear for himself; he changes his place of residence frequently, and is now at Hostia. He is said to be sent as a warder to Perugia, which the Ambassador thinks "cannot be true, as that appointment is generally given to people of consideration."

While Fra Paolo was thus cared for in Venice, Contarini's and other letters show that he was held in still greater esteem since he had been so nearly lost to Venice and to Europe. Many judged that his arguments against papal supremacy must be powerful when they had excited such indignation at the Court of Rome.

But Fra Paolo felt no satisfaction when it was reported that Poma and his accomplices had been imprisoned at Rome; it transpired, however later¹ that Parasio only had been placed in close custody in the prisons of the Inquisition, on account of his violent language against the Court in regard to the non-fulfilment of the promises which had been made to him and to his accomplices. Throughout Contarini's

¹ Rome, 19th July 1608.

letters the same desire to discover these assassins continues and the whole of the despatches are of great interest.

Letters of the Ambassador Contarini.

"To the Council of Ten,

" Most Serene Prince,

" To what I wrote last post I respectfully add by one, who knows him very well.

" Poma was seen here in Rome one Sunday at the Trinità di Monte, an out of the way place, and of small resort, together with a lad, supposed to be his son, with an old man, and another with red hair, his servant. I know that this servant goes every week with a billet to the register of the Venice post to receive letters which, with a feigned direction, are addressed to the said Poma. For many days I have been pondering on the mode of having these letters withheld; but I do not find it safe, for this register, named Simon Bigozzi, is a Florentine; nor do I rely on trusting this foreigner, appointed I know not how to this charge, the which, as all the couriers are our subjects, ought likewise to be held by one, for he sees, handles, receives, distributes, and notes all the letters; and in many instances it would prove very convenient, the having there a confidential person. I have confided the detail about those letters of Poma to Pietro Basis, an old courier, and who is the vice-master of the couriers in their house here; charging him on his life's peril, in the name of your most excellent Council, to keep it secret, desiring him to act with caution, so as to obtain and bring them to me; but he has not been able to do this, wherefore I give respectful notice thereof to your Excellencies, so that such resolve shall be taken as may be deemed best, and in order that your Lordship may know that I fail not to do as much as I am permitted, by the manner wherewith we must act under existing circumstances. It was a great light to me the information I received from your Excellencies, about the two dismissed Franciscan friars, when His Holiness spoke to me on the subject. As I write to the most excellent Senate, it was of great use, as enabling me to speak resolutely, which causeth the Pontiff not to push the matter further, or make any other reply. Gratiae, etc."

Again: "The imprisonment of Alessandro Parasio is confirmed, in whose name, and in whose favour, as it has been told me, M. Napi

likewise a native of Ancona, spoke a few days since to the Cardinal Borghese about some acknowledgment for the services rendered, but not having obtained too favourable an answer, and reporting this to Alessandro Parasio, it made him fly into the greatest wrath; and he protested that he would go into Turkey, using other similar language, as usual with a man dissatisfied and desperate as it were. Monsieur Napi, though the friend and confidant of the said Parasio, and who moreover sought him every advantage, on hearing this, had more regard for his own than for his neighbour's interest, and so went and told the whole in detail to the Cardinal Borghese, who immediately betook himself to the Pontiff, where the business being discussed, it was determined that this Monsignore should be the medium for his getting into the hands of the Sbirri, as took place; and Monsignore Fonti, the Cardinal Borghese's auditor, served to point him to the Barigello, who arrested him on Sunday the 8th, immediately on his coming out of S. Sylvester's Church, at Monte Cavallo, and having instantly put him into a carriage, he was taken to 'Borgo' to the prisons of the Inquisition. I understand that it is being endeavoured to obtain certain writings which he denies having kept.¹

"By great diligence," the Contarini, "had become acquainted with the feigned names under which the letters were addressed from Venice to Rodolfa Poma. Of two of them he says. 'The which, having first copied and resealed, I caused to be returned to their address, in order not to create suspicion.' They were letters from Poma's cloistered daughters, signed Hipolita Poma, from Padua, January 14th, 1608; there were also two other letters, which were forwarded to the Council. The letters were addressed to Carlo Gattardo, Silvestro Ridolfi, Frederico Bolucci, Paulo de Santi, Paulo Bortolacci, and the above copies were sent to the Doge by Contarini."

"Most Serene Prince,

"Herewith your Serenity will receive the substance of what Matteo Schiavon, one of the boatmen who rowed Poma, stated to my secretary on two occasions, when he went to seek him in his apartments, and likewise what Tomeo di Zanon, the owner of the shallop, told a person, my confidant, for I did not allow him to come, as he wanted to do, and speak here in the palace,² both on account of the different nature of his sentence, and because little else could have been elicited from

¹ To the Council of Ten, 2nd February, 1608, from Rome.

² The Venetian ambassador's palace, called S. Mark's, Rome.

him, in addition to what has been obtained from other sources. From these two expositions, should they contain nothing else of importance, your Serenity will at least learn concerning Poma, how he keeps hidden, and his situation (as I moreover have written heretofore), how much he endeavours to remove these men to a distance, and the confirmation of what I have previously hinted at, that Alessandro de Franceschi is his agent, and has held intercourse with him since last June or July, when the said Rodolfo Poma was at Rome, and when he left a servant of his in his house, who, immediately after the deed, went to meet him with a supply of money at Ancona.

rising "It seems he has some intention of returning home; should I become aware of his reaching it, I will give account thereof to your Excellencies, of the mode whereby the said Matteo took to come and speak with the Secretary, who was very cautious; so that he has not even a thought of its having been wished for. Then with regard to the statement of that other, namely of Tomeo, the whole is rendered intelligible by the statement itself."

1608

Here follows the statement of Matteo Schiavon. *Ibid.* on the 24th February, at Rome, in St. Mark's Palace.

"Matteo Schiavon, boatman, one of those who rowed Poma, having come by stealth to my apartments, I, Vittor Barbaro, Secretary of the Ambassador Contarini, at the second hour of the night, told him I was glad to see him well, but was sorry for his troubles, and to give him confidence to speak freely, I added that I considered it certain he had been deceived, and that one might moreover argue thus from the nature of his sentence, and the clemency of the alternative.

rising "Whereupon, bewailing his fate, and the misery of his wife and four children in Venice, and consenting to his having been in fact deceived and betrayed, he commenced speaking to me confidentially, and told me in substance:

he had "The Signor Ridolfo Poma disappeared from Venice last July, in consequence of failure on the mart. One day unexpectedly he stood before me and said, 'Villain, what art thou doing?' I answered, *say of* 'God be praised, for that certain foolish people, who speaking about *reaching* you, said you had failed, lied by the throat.' He asked me whether *in* I could go with him to Padua. I answered 'Yes;' and we went there *to* with the gondola. He went about to one monastery and the other, and came back to Venice; and returned in a Paduan boat which towed the gondola, whither he took four girls of his into convents; and his Sister di Gollardi and two maid servants accompanied them. In returning, we took up the Chaplain of the Nuns of Santa Giustina at

la Mira, and came on merrily to Venice. It strikes me that the Chaplain subsequently saved some of his property. He asked me whether I would go to Loretto with him, and that he would moreover go as far as Bitonto, I said 'yes,' but that I must have a little money at home. He said he had not got any, so I, who served a grocer with my gondola, in order to pay it off, for it had been made at his cost, took eighteen ducats from another gondolier, and made it over to him for him to pay for. This money I left at home; and having taken these clothes which are now on my back, I went to Poma; and at the water entrance of his house, ~~we~~ embarked in a gondola by day three or four little coffers, which I for my part thought was money he was carrying away, and ~~we~~ that ~~for which~~ he had failed. Being thus two oars, namely myself and Paulo de Santa Giustina, he said to us, 'I don't choose to be seen getting into the gondola here at the entrance; so while I go and look after the shallop on the Rio of S. Anna, do you go and wait for me at the Fondamenta Nuova, and don't go away, for I shall soon be there.' ¹ We waited as ordered; I became thirsty, and would not go so far as my home, but sent to buy a little wine; then came Fra Michel Viti, and inquired for Poma, saying, 'Is ~~uncle~~ uncle come yet?' We told him 'no,' and he got into the gondola to wait for him." I ~~have~~ asked him whether Poma was really ~~Fr. Viti's~~ ~~Michel~~ uncle; and he told me that he called him so, and that he knew nothing further; and he continued: "Subsequently Poma came, with his usual cloak wrapped up to his eyes, and said, 'Are you here my lads?'

"He got into the gondola desiring us to go towards the castle, and said, 'I also will row a little,' and having laid down his cloak and a blunderbuss which he had himself fitted on the crutch, the second astern, began rowing. We were at a very little distance from the Fondamenta, and two men came up who also called out, 'Sir, take us also.' Poma made us return to the quay, and we brought them off without any tumult of people, or any one. He made us go to the cottage beyond the Certosa, apparently the edge of the lagoons at the back of the Castle of S. Andrea, (in fact on a strip of the Lido, across which the murderers then made their way to the beach, where the shallop was waiting for them) and they disembarked, and there on shore they came towards us, the Signor Alessandro Parasio with the

¹ The date of the conversation here detailed was October 5th, 1607. On the evening of which day, about an hour before sunset, Poma and his accomplices attacked Fra Paolo Sarpi at the bridge of S. Fosca, close to the Monastery of the Servites. The Rio of S. Anna, which Poma mentions as a stand for shallop, 1607, continued such till very lately, and runs parallel to the public gardens towards the land entry.

spew of the shallop which was on the beach, and he had the effects taken out of the gondola and carried overland to the shallop; and to one, who chanced to be there, he gave a piece of forty soldi to take the gondola to my house, but it was not mine. Having thus got on board the shallop at sea, during the night we had almost a constant calm, save on the fifth hour a little sirocco and swell, which soon subsided, and at the first hour we made Goro, where Poma and Parasio having disembarked desired us to go and wait for them at Ravenna, and he took horses and went away with the said Parasio, I believe to Padua, for they afterwards returned to Ravenna, bringing the lad, the said Poma's son, who was certainly at Padua, and another lad, his nephew, named Carlo Gottardo, his sister's son, who was likewise at Padua. On the same day after they had ridden off, whilst steering our course to Ravenna, all went to sleep, except a boy who was at the helm, the sail being hoisted in a calm; and had by were the boats of the Lord Chiefs of the Ten the which, had they boarded us, we should all have been taken napping. At Ravenna, Father Michael artfully, as I stated, after Poma was at the Fondamente Nuove, Pasqual di Bitonto, and Zuane di Fiorenza should all three sleep on shore, I believe because he expected us to learn there some news of the assassination they had committed at Venice, and he was afraid, and thus did it turn out; for an estafette which reached that city divulged the fact, so I began lamenting and complaining to the priest that I had been sacrificed, and he swore as a priest, and vowed by the consecration of his person, that it was not true. However, one night he went off, together with the others with the shallop without saying a word to us, and left us there on shore, and hearing that he was gone to Ravenna we likewise proceeded thither with fresh lamentations and complaints, for we heard say besides that we should all be quartered and quite lost. I had thrown myself down on the ground there, under a portico, crying and hollowing with all my might, one Vincencetto of the castle, a Venetian, who came up by chance put us up to carrying off the priest to Venice with the shallop, saying that we should be set at liberty, and get four thousand ducats reward, and he had so well persuaded us that believing we should do thus he went to Venice to say we were going there; but the priest secured himself by taking the effects ashore to the governor of the city, and observed great caution, and subsequently Poma arrived with Parasio, and the two lads aforesaid in a carriage, and having paid the crew of the shallop twenty six livres each, left them there, whereat they complained and stormed dreadfully, and he merely took me and Paolo with the carriage to Ancona, where the whole being discovered,

Poma said to me, 'Never fear, for as is my lot so shall be thine, if thou art outlawed, I'll buy thee a commutation.' One day in Ancona, whilst walking about, I met one Roberto Fiamengo, a red-haired man, Poma's servant, who was coming along on horseback, he is my chum, or gossip, and when he saw me he complained, saying to me, 'Thou'rt here, gossip, thee too, they ruin thee too!' and he told me that Poma had left him last summer here in Rome, in the house of one Alessandro Franceschi, a Venetian, and that the said Franceschi had given him the horse and money for him to come immediately to Venice by Ancona to his master Poma, to convey to him a letter which this Alessandro Franceschi had given him to receive a thousand ducats here in Ancona, given him by the Pope, and so through this letter the said Poma had the money which was paid him by Girolamo Scallamonti, the Pope's agent in Ancona, and he is moreover having the walls of that city repaired, and he gave it him in high time, for he had not a farthing. We then went to Loretto, and whilst I was in the Church of our Lady, taking the communion they planted me, and all went away without saying anything to me.

au.

Georor

" So remaining as if lost I returned to Ancona, and first gained my livelihood by fishing for oysters, and then coasting along that shore as far as the Albruzzo in a Chioggian vessel, in like manner as the other boatmen maintained themselves. I heard that Poma was at Rome; I wrote to him to ask for what belonged to me, for he had engaged me at the rate of forty soldi per diem, and my board. He sent me two letters in reply, and said he would send me money, but I have never seen anything. There are the letters, and he shewed me two, one dated 12th December from the Campagna of Rome, the other from Paliano, dated the 28th of January, whereby he exhorts him in kind terms to go and present himself at Venice, that he will not forget him, and this is the substance of the said letters, telling him not to come to Rome by any means as it would be bad for all. He in like manner showed me a letter sent him by his wife, with the copy of his sentence, which is the same one had here at the palace, and that was opened and read, but he suspects Poma of having forged it in order to make him so much the more easily determine to go to Venice. He then added, latterly at Ruanati, I heard that on the 13th of January, Alessandro Parasio had been put in prison here in Rome (8th January, Despatch 106), and that Poma was made warden of Perugia, so seeing that he had said he would send me money, but never remitted any to me, I resolved on coming here, together with Tomeo di Zanon, the master of the shallop. We arrived here on Ash Wednesday, and went hunting for Poma, Parasio, Poma's servant, or some one of them; nor have we been able to find them. But we have heard that one Zan Antonio Gottardo, the ne-

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shall

on g.

Paca

phew, and Zan Battista, the son of Poma, are come to Bitonto, but we cannot get a sight of any of them, we believe they hide themselves, and the other day there came a young man well dressed as a priest, who told us that if we were looking for Poma that he was gone to Naples to collect certain monies of his, but that he would cause us to receive some alms to furnish me with the means of going to Venice, as I have the advantage of being able to present myself, and to the master of the shallop, who lacks this privilege, that he may go to Bitonto, where the means of support will not fail him, and he warned us not to show ourselves here to the ambassador, who would give us a good dressing. We asked him his name; he said it was Fulvio Spermato, and that he lived with the Cardinal Bevilacqua, but he does not reside there, this name is not known. I keep thinking he may be that Alessandro de Franceschi; he is a tidy, dark youth. I think 'tis so, but I don't know him. We have met him twice or thrice in the street, and he wanted us to go on Friday to the palace at S. Peter's, and I know not for what purpose he did not choose to go. The arrangement was for us to be there after dinner, but we did not go. We mean for a certainty to discover this Poma, and be paid. Were I to go to Venice, I imagine that my poor wife will have sold and pawned all I have in the world to support the children; and I should but go to die with them of want. I keep thinking of going in preference to Leghorn, and of serving on board the Grand Duke's vessels." This is what he said to me, and as he is a man in his prime, and of very fine stature, I dissuaded him to the utmost from the thought of going to Leghorn, exhorting him not to lose the opportunity of presenting himself at Venice, where he will at all events be at home, and should he allow this opportunity to escape he might possibly sigh for it in vain all the rest of his life, without being able again to see his children and his home; and with the tears in his eyes he concluded by saying that he would try whether he could rescue anything out of the hands of those men, and having arranged to come to me to report what befell him, he departed."

" On the 26th of February, the aforesaid having returned at the usual hour to me, my secretary added to me in substance that Poma's servant, named Roberto, was in the palace of the Cardinal Colonna. He yesterday kept walking in its neighbourhood such a length of time that he met him, and after the said Roberto had complained of being himself likewise ruined, saying that Poma and the others had fled hence, and that Alessandro Parasio had been imprisoned for his talk, and that he did not know what had become of him, he informed him as a secret, that Andrea Enici, a Genoese, late agent for Poma in Venice, was reading there in the palace, and that he ought to go and speak to him; and whilst talking with the servant, on raising his eyes, he saw at a window of the palace of the said

Cardinal Colonna, Gio. Battista Poma, Ridolfo's son, whom he knows very well, and having quitted the servant and gone upstairs to the rooms pointed out to him as those of the said Enici, he found there Paulo of St. Giustina the boatman, and spoke with Andrea Enici, who likewise stating that Poma was not there, answered him in reply to his demands for payment, that he does not know what to do. He afterwards met in the street near there the priest called Fulvio Sp^ronati, who apologised for not having shown himself on account of the rain that has fallen these past two days, and made an appointment for him to meet him in the evening when he would place him for four or six days, until some other arrangement could be made, in a room where he would be boarded by a certain woman, and that thus would he do out of charity, and for love of the Signor Gio. Battista, for that he does not know the Signor Ridolfo. He went that evening as ordered, but the priest never came, so having returned to-day to speak to Enici he desired him to come again to-morrow at dinner-time, and that he will give him the means for betaking himself to Venice; and he says he considers it certain that that priest who spoke to him does not bear the name of Fulvio, for when he mentioned him to Enici he did not understand him, but subsequently appeared to comprehend which Matteo having recounted to me the details aforesaid, departed, saying that he will go to-morrow as ordered and will come and tell me the whole, adding in the act of departure that he had forgot to tell me that one Lodovico who rowed in the shallop, and was outlawed at Ancona, immediately on reaching that city, notwithstanding his outlawry, walked about, and freely frequented every place." Nothing need be added to this prolix testimony unless it be that of Thomas de Zanon ¹ who was seen walking and talking openly in the gallery of the Vatican with ~~the~~ Venetian priest ~~Franceschi~~ ^{chance} ~~Franceschi~~ ^{alegor} ^{di} ^{Franceschi} ^a Zanon alledged that he had come from Leghorn in a Florentine vessel; but he betrayed himself by complaining that he was still unrewarded, and at last confessed that he " was the master of the shallop in which Poma had escaped from Venice." He affirmed that Matteo, the gondolier, knew all, and when Poma got into the gondola at the Fondamente Nuove when driven by the populace, and Matteo asked him whether he had done the business? Poma urged him to row, saying ' Woe to us, we shall all be quartered,' and Matteo answered ' Never fear, sir, as long as you see me.' Zanon was left with the shallop; and Matteo, on whom Zanon cast unmeasured blame, came to Rome to see what he could get."

It is apparent from this long but important document, that description of spies and remarks on the Pope's unwearied complaint of the theologians filled a considerable portion of the ambassador's letters, and it is only

¹ All from the MSS. Contarini, 20th February 1608.

wonderful that he was able to steer his course through such a labyrinth of difficulty.

While his defender was thus engaged at Rome, Fra Paolo pursued the even tenor of his way, strong in the conviction that although his life was hourly in danger, and there were other machinations against him, unless by the will of God not a hair of his head would be injured. He held the opinion of Saint Augustine as to God being the Disposer and Controller of all events, and although he knew that not many paces from the Convent door, lay men ready to seize him he lived in peace, and in patience possessed his soul. He still suffered much pain in his face consequent upon his wound, and he felt his eyesight so much affected, that he could scarcely look stedfastly on any object. He was obliged to wear spectacles while reading, but happily he could avail himself of his knowledge as an optician in his need, and he does not appear to have relaxed at all in his studies. But affairs of greater moment than his bodily ailments now began to engross his attention, and the Spanish fleet which was armed with 20,000 men, could not cruise in the Mediterranean without exciting public uneasiness. This, however, Sarpi tried to allay, believing the armament was merely a demonstration of strength: he was more occupied by severe disappointments since the raising of the Interdict, one of which was, that Casanbon had not been rewarded for his services to the Republic. Much as the Senators had done for the security of Fra Paolo, they did more, they provided him with means to pay a person always to accompany him, and not only increased his salary, but decided that the public should pay for a house in Saint Mark's where he could live in safety. But the Father was determined not to change his abode, and entreated to be allowed to reside in the Convent with the friars with whom he had lived so long, declaring that he should never be able to live in any other manner, that being his vocation, in this he was gratified, except that the Senate erected some small buildings adjoining his chamber, from which by a little corridor and staircase he would enter a boat, so that when he had occasion to return to the Convent by night he might not be exposed to treachery. He was thus necessarily obliged to make some change as to his expenses, although he did not spend more than was absolutely needful, in no way abating the rigor of his poverty as a friar, content with his simple food and clothing. But after the attempt on his life he was obliged not to walk from the Servi, because it being necessary for him to pass through alleys which afforded an opportunity to any one who wished to assassinate him. During the sixteen following years he went in his gondola from his Convent to the Rialto, landed there, and then through the Merceria to S. Mark's, merely for daily exercise that he might not lose the habit of walking altogether, and he found it necessary to have two companions, one as his servant, the other as his

amanuensis, Fra Marco to whom he gave twelve hundred ducats, and fifty ducats per annum, and to Fra Marino three hundred which he placed in the bank for him at ten per cent, that he might not only have a living, but also forty ducats per annum, and he increased his gifts of bread and wine to the convent, and also to the cooks, to one of whom he gave sixty ducats per annum. These gifts were made from prudential causes in self defence, they conciliated many, as well as made them interested in the preservation of his life, but with these expenses he could no longer persist in his determination not to receive the stipend assigned to him by the public munificence. He was obliged to make a great change in his reception of strangers. He never conversed with any one but in his own chamber in the convent or in the church, in the choir, when coming to service or to the refectory to meals. His life was that of a hermit, he was solitary so far as his public duties permitted; his world was his poor cell, and the little path between the Rialto and S. Marks, and Fulgenzio, having repeated that his time was still divided between his devotion, uninterrupted study, and his public duties, concludes with this rare encomium. " His life was a singular combination of activity and contemplation, giving to God what he could, to his prince that which was due to him, and to his neighbour more than he ought by any other laws than those of charity. "¹

The generous acts of the Doge and Senate during his sufferings drew from Paolo a letter of deep gratitude, and while the government had been bountiful to himself, the services of the physicians were not left unrequited. Together with thanks and a silver cup graven with the arms of S. Mark, Acquapendente was rewarded by a rich collar and medal, and was created Cavaliere. Vedova received forty ducats, and Comino twenty.

After the Interdict, Fulgenzio enters into little minutiae, and the writer has therefore had recourse to various of the MS. letters of Paolo Sarpi as well as others proved authentic, and as they elucidate his life, passages from them are here quoted. The reader can easily imagine him engaged in letter writing, seating a few moments from his daily toil to breathe awhile more freely in the society of his friends, either by his own pen, or that of Marino one of his amanuenses.

Steal

So highly were the letters of Fra Paolo esteemed by the learned, that many copies and translation of them are known to have been taken. The annexed is a transcript of a copy of a letter addressed by him to the Abbé Medard, and was written first in Latin, translated into French, then into English, and deemed worthy of preservation by the Archbishop Usher.

" The advertisements which yours of the 18th of June doth give me concerning the means whereby the most Christian King doth recover his

¹ MS.

domains were most acceptable to me. I have also a great desire to understand when there happeneth any singular and remarkable sentence in the court of parliament on ecclesiastical matters. It seems to me an endeavour worthy of yourself to employ your leisure time in the study of divinity and of the ecclesiastical history, for which I do hold you so well prepared that you have no need to be directed by any soever, much less by me; yet I will not omit to obey you, in writing my opinion what is the course that a man of sincere affections should hold therein. And to begin with the schoolmen wherein you particularly do require me, I shall tell you that one had need to beware of those writers that do give their resolutions too like magistrates with a Respondendum and Dicendum, as if they were arbitrators; and rather to read them which deliver their opinions with reservation, and in matters not decided do not play the pedant over others. The University of Paris hath much need to apply themselves to the best judgments that did spring up amongst them, and the last that offered himself was William Oceam, whom, if you lay his barbarism aside, you will find a judicious writer. I have still esteemed him above all the schoolmen. His work upon the sentences doth render the conceit of him that reads him quick and fit to judge.

His dialogues which pass from the speculative matters to the more practical and in use, are much esteemed where they are permitted to be read. Gerson teacheth well that which he teacheth, but he did not profound to himself to treat of the whole subject. S. Thomas is current among the Jesuits as a writer very easy, and who doth not entangle the mind of the reader with doubts, but resolves indeed too much. If you resolve to read him, it will be good very punctually to examine his Sorites, for so are almost all his proofs, and he is in the number of those that I named first. If you read the controversies that do at this present exercise the world, you will do well to bear in mind that the writers do all of them exceed in affection to their own side, and do accommodate matters to their own taste, and in the ancient writers do not see that which is there, but that which they desire. And therefore it is necessary to use them with that caution that a good judge should use, not to pronounce till both parties be heard. As for the means to get the understanding of the ecclesiastical history, it will be necessary to put into your head a chronology of all the princes and famous men that have been in the world; all of them distinguished in their times and countries.

In the reading of the Historiographer be very wary, because for the most part they are interested on the one hand or on the other when they treat of any controversy. The most sincere authors are the English, Paris, Hovedon, Walsingham. The most sincere and faithful history is to be drawn out of the fathers and other writers of every time.

" Above all it is necessary in reading to bear a neutral affection, and not to suffer that which you find in one author, to take so deep in you that it may not give place to the truth or greater probability which you may find afterwards.

" But according to my judgment, to give a general and infallible rule for all the difficulties that may occur in the process of your studies, I take it to be best to consult with the Jesuits, and to resolve the clean contrary of what they say.

" There remaineth, you say, the Parliament for a bank to keep them from overflowing; but I still see the water to increase and the earth of the bank to diminish, which puts me in great doubt. We indeed are free from their persons, but not from their vexations or ambushes. I know not whether mischief to be the greater, that which they do being absent, or that which they do being present. I begin to believe for that which now I see, that they have been re-accepted in France to free that kingdom from greater mischief, which they did in their absence, and peradventure I am not deceived.

" Your worship doth esteem me more than is fitting, in thinking that the Jesuits have any thought of me. Assure yourself that I am not high enough to be stricken with such a lightning, unless they were (whereof I doubt) in the number of those curious men that do not overstep, no, not the least matters.

" However it be, every one is subject unto danger, only it rests to rely ourselves on God, on these things whereunto no human caution can arrive.

" I beseech your lordship to make me partaker sometimes of your letters, whom you will oblige thereby. You will not be obliged to write Italian, because, however I answer you in my language, yet it is to me indifferent to send yours in this or in French. Our Lord God give your lordship all happiness, whose hands I reverently kiss.

This;
.....
send

" F. Paolo.

" From Venice, this 20th July, 1608. "

It has been denied, but it cannot be disproved, that after, as during the time of the Interdict, there was a strong inclination on the part of many Venetians to disentangle themselves from some of the innovations of the Jesuits and other modern teachers of the Church of Rome; they wished more liberty of conscience, they purchased the Italian Bible whenever they had opportunity, they desired their Church to be less fettered and looked for its return to its ancient usage: they were attracted by and interested in the sermons of Fra Paolo, the two Fulgenzios, Marsilio and the other

theologians, "the seven." They had greedily perused the writings during the Interdict; these had exposed much that required to be known, and intelligent minds discovered that there was not that impassable gulf between the Church of Rome and the Church of Rome *Reformed*, as was alleged, and they said, as did Fra Paolo, that there were many observances and abuses of the Church of Rome which only belonged to ignorance. Their affections were touched by the magnitude of the love of the Saviour, and as this, Paolo tells us, was the theme on which the preachers dwelt, it is not marvellous what he relates of the numbers who hung on the lips of Fulgenzio Micanzio.

Those who have listened to the impassioned language of the priests of Italy to a throng of worshippers, can best picture to themselves Fra Paolo, or Fra Fulgenzio with all the bold eloquence of truth, addressing the hearts and understandings of the crowd who were loyal to their prince and had shown themselves willing to follow him in his recent protest against Rome. It is a well authenticated fact, on one occasion when preaching from the words of the Holy Saviour to the Jews. "Have ye not read?"¹ Fra Fulgenzio added, "If the Saviour were now to ask the question 'Have ye not read?' all the answer you could make would be 'No, we are forbidden to do so.'" And it is a fact equally well vouched for, that when the Church resounded with the same demand that Pontius Pilate the Roman Governor made to the Holy Saviour, "What is truth?" Fra Fulgenzio took a New Testament from his pocket and told his auditors that after long search he had found it there. He held the precious volume up with outstretched hands in the sight of all, "But," he exclaimed as he returned the book to its place, "*the book is prohibited!*" The effect of these words can scarcely be described, they stirred the assembly to its depths, Fra Paolo and Fulgenzio were of the same opinion as the learned Brucioolo, who told the Duke of Tuscany "that the reading of the Holy Scriptures was of all means that most calculated to make his people devout men and dutiful subjects." There can be no doubt but that at the time and after the Interdict many copies of the Holy Scriptures entered Venice,² but these volumes were soon strictly prohibited: the adherents of Rome prevented their entrance, and the people were forced to be content with the portions of Holy Writ contained in their books of common prayer.

An associate of Fra Paolo, the Secretary of Sir Henry Wotton, who must have had full opportunity of judging of the truth of the above statements thus expresses himself.

¹ S. Matt. xii, 8.

² Edition of the Bible (Diodati) 1607.

"Venice is like a new world; it is the greatest consolation to find oneself in companies and assemblies at the houses of the nobles, and to hear them speak with so much piety and zeal of the truth of God with those good men Father Paolo, Fulgenzio and Bedell, the Chaplain of the Ambassador. The sermons in public are as good as could be preached in Geneva, and they are delivered with so much earnestness, that crowds flock to hear them, and it is necessary to go very early to be in time to get a place. The Inquisition is kept under by a Senator who is a member of it, and without whose voice nothing can be decided. He is always chosen from the greatest opponents of the Pope. The vehemence against the Pope and Court is greater than ever. The Jesuits are denounced from the pulpit, their doctrines refuted and denied, and they mortally disliked; many of the nobles have provided themselves with tutors of the reformed religion. Three fourths of the nobility are much attached to the truth and the rest favorably inclined."¹

Here may be seen what reform within the Church of Rome can do. Not only the nobles but the citizens and people heard Fra Paolo and Fulgenzio gladly. The dislike of the Jesuits grew the stronger because they still endeavored to harass Venetia, and therefore it was not malice but love of his country that still stimulated Fra Paolo against them, he was particularly shocked by one of their writings sent to him from France, and boldly says, 'such things would not be endured in Italy.' Since their banishment he knew that they were secretly occupied against Church and State, and they were not so much feared as they had been, which he regretted. Next to religion, the most prominent topic in Fra Paolo's correspondence is freedom, he was gratified by M. Gillot's interest in the liberty of the Church. "I will not say," he writes, "of the Gallican, but of the Universal Church, and perhaps in this age God wills by a milder method than that adopted in the last to annihilate tyranny. A foundation was then attempted to be laid but it was incomplete, who knows but this may succeed better? If God blesses the work we may have hope."

The familiar nature of Sarpi's correspondence is thus expressed by himself, "I write to you without taking much account of what I say, as if I spoke to you, but such is my habit, because familiar letters ought to be the dictate of the heart without affectation."²

In a letter without date, but evidently prior to this period, he remarks that Fra Fulgenzio Manfredi had left Venice for Rome. "He

¹ Geneva, Aug. 10, 1608. Mem. Du Mornay, vol. x. p. 150.

² M. Grosset, Sep. 8, 1608.

had been seduced by emissaries of the Pope, and had yielded after two years persecution; had been provided with a safe conduct, from the Nuncio at Venice, had gone through the patrimony of the Church, and had been met and congratulated on his way. On his arrival he was maintained, provided with three servants by the Pope, and received in audience, while the General of the Jesuits was kept waiting for two hours." But Sarpi knew how to estimate these passing honors. "What will come of this, time will show, but possibly it will be seen hereafter, that he who is believed by some to be infallible, may be so in this also." He also knew that Manfredi could not give any information to the Court of Rome that would injure the Republic, and "it was the common opinion that his life would be short."¹

About this time "command had been given to Michael Viti and Parasio," both Sarpi's assassins, to leave Rome, and the latter was imprisoned a second time at Ancona. "I am very cautious," Sarpi writes, "more to defeat their wishes, than for any esteem I have of myself. The Court of Rome and the Head of it have not forgotten that we would not acknowledge his omnipotence which is the greatest sin that can be committed against them. They long for revenge and they spare neither pains or trouble to return to the old way."²

For the most part his correspondence, like the mind of Sarpi, was cheerful, he looked on events with the eye of one who referred all to the allwise and almighty Ruler of the universe, he did not pretend to fathom, mysteries, to foretell future events or to question the right of God to do what and as he willed, his great intellect bowed to the Divine with childlike submission. His letters are filled with short but devout aspirations of trust in God; in seeing impiety successful he betrays no surprise, only observing, "It is what is predicted by the Holy Spirit, and is for the fulfilment of holy prophecy. We ought to compassionate one that is blind, unless he is wilfully so. I have always observed that nothing more precipitates danger than too great avoidance of it."

Here Sarpi evidently alludes to the constant warnings of his friends to beware of danger as he continues, after observing that affairs at Venice went very ill, "But I am too much occupied with a certain conceit of others to take care of myself, because I trust wholly to God, except when the discourse of others forces me to think of it. It is a strange thing that they still try to seize me even in my own chamber... Fifteen days since some one went into the Colonna palace

¹ Sep. 30, 1608. Sarpi to M. Groslot.

² Appendix.

to apprehend Poma. He defended himself by killing one of the *sbirri*, and wounding others; he was wounded in the body as also his son: they are now in prison. I do not comprehend these mysterious doings, there must be some hidden art in them which I do not understand." This is his only comment.

The Court of Rome had determined that the works of Baronius should be defended; this was contrary to Sarpi's strictures on the Cardinal's work, and he was grieved to see Italy largely supplied with pamphlets full of untruth. Afraid of their works being prohibited, their authors published them as if written on another subject than that of which they treated.

He had perused the King of Great Britain's answer to Bellarmine, and takes notice of the Catalogue of the Jesuits in which are the names of all their houses and colleges, those which they formerly possessed in Venetia are marked thus,¹ and underneath is written, *Notata nondum recuperatae sunt*. "If they say this with a vow," adds Sarpi, "that they will return thither, they are very bold, but perhaps God will be for us. I hope so."

Whatever was the rage of Sarpi's enemies without, they could not rob him of Heaven's high peace within. It might be he was troubled by being asked to wear mail beneath his habit, this admits of question; besides, as he persevered at times in walking, the weight of armor would have been great for his fragile body, and if he did wear light armor, assuredly it would have been preserved with as jealous care as the stiletto which Malpietro drew from his wound on the 5th of October, which is still to be seen in the Giustinian Museum Venice.

¹ Catalogus illustrium virorum Societatis Jesu.

CHAPTER IX.

A.D. 1609 — A.D. 1617.

DOGE OF VENICE. M. A. Memmo. 1614. G. Bembo.
 SOVEREIGN OF GERMANY. Rodolph II. 1612 Matthias.

GREAT BRITAIN. James I.

FRANCE. Henry IV ^A Louis XIII.

SPAIN. Philip III.

TURKEY. Achmet I. 1617 Mustapha
 POPE. Paul V.

1610

Plots. — Manfredi. — Richer. — Public events. — Complaints against Fra Paolo. — Extracts from his Letters. — Marsilio. — History of the Uscochs. — Galileo. — De Dominis.

Fra Paolo's enemies were not yet satisfied; they were, however, unable to seize him as they still intended in the streets of Venice on his way to the Palace. At last, they discovered that this could not be attempted, as he never walked but in the most frequented parts of the city, generally accompanied by Fra Fulgenzio or other friends, and so remarked and saluted by the inhabitants that if any had dared to attack him, their lives would have been instantly taken by the enraged multitude.

Fulgenzio's suspicions were, however, aroused by a soldier who now made his appearance, and beneath whose military garb it was suspected that a priest was concealed; he made many attempts to converse with Fra Paolo, but this was difficult, as no one was admitted without first sending his name as well as information as to his country and profession, and being introduced by one of the nobles or an intimate friend. This man addressed Fulgenzio, "and endeavored to tell him that he had business of great importance to communicate well worthy of his attention; that he would lay down his arms, or submit to whatever the Father would require, but he would not listen to him. However, the soldier appeared to place confidence in Fulgenzio, and proceeded to tell him that he was a near relative of Cardinal Baronius, but had fallen into disgrace, that he wished to give the Father information which regarded his personal safety, and that he was ready to certify the truth of what he asserted."

But when Fulgenzio only offered him money if he was in want, the soldier exclaimed, " Beware of traitors, ye have need to do so. God takes care of you who are better friars than others wish you were!" This said, he disappeared.

It did not transpire whether this soldier-priest had any communication with Cardinal Bellarmine, or if it was to make Fra Paolo watch against the same intended plot that he warned the friar, but the instance about to be given of that Cardinal's true appreciation of his old friend not only shows how his heart warmed towards him, but demonstrates that in both there still remained virtue and Christian charity. The Cardinal sent his salutations twice to the Father, once by a Roman secular, who told him by the Cardinal's command to guard himself securely, because there was urgent need for such caution, and again by Testoni a Venetian, a Roman friar on his way to Mantua.

He was commissioned by Cardinal Bellarmine, who mentioned Paolo by name, to salute the Father affectionately for him, to tell him that he still retained his affection for him and to bid him note, that two friars under the title of, " A life of the P. Paolo," had written a libellous work which they had presented to Paul V, who had given it to the Cardinal for examination in order to obtain his opinion of it, with a view to its publication, but as the Cardinal knew the Father well he told the Pope to believe that the work only contained notorious calumnies, and their publication would only bring great dishonor on the publisher.

Testoni told many such anecdotes to Fra Fulgenzio who observes " that every kind of scandal both against his life and honor were published, besides numerous libels to please the Court of Rome, but the Father showed no sign of resentment or anger, one of his great excellencies, and that which accompanied him to the tomb being his gentleness, and all of his Order bore witness that they never heard him seek revenge." One of the authors was called P. Gioseffo, but Fra Paolo, so far from returning evil for evil, although he knew the author of the libel above mentioned, did not punish him but permitted him to enjoy an honorable employment; however, after Fra Paolo's death, these calumnies and other delinquencies were the cause of his banishment from the dominions of Venetia, but such was Paolo's charity that when he received the greatest wrong his expression of countenance was most serene, and he endeavored to extenuate the offence as much as possible, usually saying, that such an one's brain was touched, and that in his position, or for his own interest, he could not do otherwise.¹

¹ MS.

It has been noticed that the Archdeacon Rubetti had been well received at Rome; five hundred ducats per annum were immediately conferred upon him by the Pope, the recipient declaring, "that he had defended the Republic of Venice against his will!"¹ It is easy to conceive the mischief that this ecclesiastic could, and did do against the Republic, he was one of the seven who had put his name to writings in her favor, he was now an informer against her.

The Court of Rome still continued to tamper with the Republic's defenders. "As to me," writes Sarpi, "I not only believe, but I have daily proof of the snares laid for me. I do all I can by way of caution, but without either anxiety or solicitude. Without God no design can be effected, whatever pleases Him best is for good. With this I am content. They will gain nothing by taking my life, and through me they will find greater opposition when I am dead than when I am alive. They have used every means lately to gain the others both by promises and by threats. I believe they will not gain any more from them than they have done. They do not attempt to gain me; they say openly there is no hope of me but by daggers."² What a miserable life was Sarpi's in one sense, never to know what it was to be safe from an assassin's thrust, and yet how he was to be envied! Tranquil amidst revengeful passions, forgiving to his greatest enemies, intrepid in the midst of danger, casting the veil of charity over the defects of those who had once been his friends, never swerving from the path of honor although 'one of peril, but living a life of faith on the Son of God, and listening to the holy solace which has emboldened the persecuted, "All things are yours, whether life or death, or things present or things to come, all are yours, for ye are Christ's and Christ is God's." The Senate of Venice was not so forgiving, indeed public justice required that he, who had once defended the Republic and now betrayed her, ought to be punished at all events in some measure, and while the Archdeacon was publicly proceeded against, the Senate showed their approval of Fra Paolo and his fellow supporters, by awarding two hundred ducats to each of those who had proved themselves the stedfast defenders, faithful servants, and loyal subjects of the Republic.

But Fra Paolo would not accept the proffered gift, "lest it should be said that he had defended the public for gain," and there still remained in his heart the cherished hope that better times would dawn upon his country, and that "if he were not alive to serve it, others would."

In a letter of this date he takes a rapid survey of various subjects, and mentions that the Duc de Sully had withdrawn from the Reformed Church,

¹ Letters (Sarpi) Marciana.

² Jan. 6, to M. Groslot 1609.

and attaehed himself to the communion of the Church of Rome. He adds, " This is not true." Sarpi had admired the Duke's conduct with regard to the Jesuits, and does not appear to have ever expressed gratification on hearing that any had quitted the Reformed, for this he has been censured. Was it likely that he would when he desired reform *in* the Church of Rome? He expressed approval of the confession of the Reformed Church of France, especially of the 31st article, and observed " that the book would survive whatever pains were taken for its suppression." His tidings from Rome augured ill for Fra Fulgenzio Manfredi. He had demanded a bishopric, which had been refused, he had resisted public penance, but the Archdeacon consented to perform it, and was seen barefooted, bearing a candle, and visiting the seven churches. Whilst these measures were enacted at Rome, Matthias had assumed the monarchy of Hungary, and Sarpi comments frequently on the confusion which the Jesuits had caused by their intrigues in Spain, France, Switzerland, and England.

It may be tedious to the reader to be obliged to read of these disturbers of the peace of Europe so frequently as Sarpi mentions them, but his biography cannot be written without a consecutive notice of this body, of whom he was eager to obtain more knowledge. He had studied Hosenmuller, but he had long been wishful to obtain the Constitutions of the Jesuits, which were at last copied for him by M. Castrine.

One might have supposed this body would have desisted from their attempts to prejudice the Pope against Venetia, but he was still loud in complaint against Fra Paolo and the Republic, and thus expressed his opinion to the French Ambassador.

" The Venetians employ three or four theologians at their own charge to write against the authority of the Popes, and when the book which the Frere Paul wrote by their command was shewn by us to several learned theologians, they discovered eight passages which are palpably heretical; and we are informed by letters from France, that many heretical books have been introduced into Venice from Geneva. The Venetians think they derive great benefit from the liberty they grant to all who inhabit their States, but they do not reflect that by this means they introduce heresy. An ambassador from England, resident at Venice, is accompanied by a chaplain who tampers with the nobles and citizens, and they spread the doctrines of Luther and Calvin in such a manner that I believe," concluded the Pope, " this Republic which has always been Christian, is about to bury herself in heresy." ¹

¹ M. de Breves to H. M. Henry IV. Bib. Imp., MS.

Such bitter feelings against Fra Paolo at Rome were but a prelude of greater evil. The time had not yet passed away when mistaken men thought they did good service to the Most High God by destroying his faithful servant.

"In his youth the Cardinal Borghese had studied at Perugia, where Fra Bernardo had so ingratiated himself with him, that on the creation of Borghese as Cardinal, Bernardo went to Rome in hopes of preferment. This friar was acquainted with two others, Francesco and Antonio, and under pretext of study, the General of the Servites was prevailed upon to send Francesco to Padua; and its vicinity to Venice gave frequent opportunity to Francesco to visit Antonio who resided at Fra Paolo's convent.

"Although these two friars were of the same province and had long known each other, their intimacy was not agreeable to Paolo, but he only expressed this in general terms to Antonio, who apparently withdrew from Francesco; though in reality they met privately without the convent, but with permission. They, however, corresponded, and Francesco's letters were sent to Antonio by a Jew, who having carried a letter to the convent when Fra Antonio was from home gave it to the porter who took it to P. Paolo, telling him 'that he had made the Jew confess that this was a common occurrence,' and as the Jews are not only far sighted but timid, this Jew told him 'that he wished to declare that he would not be the bearer of any more letters, because he did not know the business that was so secret between them.' P. Paolo called for Fra Antonio and gave him the letters, but he charged him to break off all intercourse with Francesco on pain of dismissal from his service. Fra Antonio endeavored to excuse himself and turned the whole affair into ridicule, merely observing that the only reason of his intimacy with Francesco was to get a good dinner from him. Fra Antonio was believed to be more simple than wicked, yet although forbidden to correspond the two friars continued to do so privately, and also held a long conversation in the vestry of the Servi. At parting, being too much engrossed in earnest conversation to be conscious of what he did, Fra Francesco pulled a parcel of soft wax out of his hose, with which it was intended to take the impression of some keys, and from this impression false keys were to be made. The wax had adhered to a small packet of letters; Fra Francesco gave the wax into the hands of Fra Antonio, but unperceived the packet of letters fell to the ground. The friars separated, the one to his cell in the Servi, the other went his way.

"The Sacristan picked up the letters and carried them immediately to Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio, who on reading them found them to be

written in cypher, and on business of great importance. Fra Bernardo had written to Francesco to solicit Fra Antonio to dispatch Paolo and Fulgenzio at the Quadragesimale,¹ that 500 scudi were ready and in hand, and that 12,000 and more were secure. In each letter he said that he had spoken with the Holy Father and with the Fratello etc., and that all were anxiously awaiting the Quadragesimale, that the Father General of the Servites entreated him not to doubt but that he would be beatified, that the Holy Father had made all retire to give him audience, with many similar particulars. These letters were shown to P. Paolo by Fra Fulgenzio, but such was his meek self-command, that he advised Fra Fulgenzio not to move in the matter, but to keep silence, till all was more clearly discovered. But Fra Fulgenzio had resolved otherwise, and without saying more, carried the letters, eight in number, to the Most Excellent Inquisitor of State whom he informed how he had obtained them. Francesco, and soon after Antonio were seized, and what followed remains secret in the Archives of the State, but it was publicly known that of the six persons named in the letter by cypher, Fathers, Friars and Cousins, except the General of the Servi, there was not one below the degree of a Cardinal."

"The orders were, at the Quadragesimale: 1^o To stab P. Paolo with a razor; 2^o That something should be sent from Rome to put in his food or in what he drank, and that thus with one bean they might catch two pigeons (P. Paolo and Fulgenzio). But it was extremely difficult, to administer poison to Paolo, on account of the great care which was taken as to his food, as some bruicellato had been eaten in the convent which caused illness.

"The third and most likely way to make away with P. Paolo appeared to these conspirators to be, that Fra Antonio should take the impression of the keys of his cell with the wax above referred to, that he should have false keys made from the impression, and that Francesco, in the still hour of the night, should bring in secretly two or three ruffians to murder the innocent P. Paolo. But God revealed this infamous plot, and as the excellent Council of Ten wished to ascertain the origin of this transaction, they gave sentence that if Francesco did not communicate all he knew by a certain date, he would be hanged. If he confessed the whole, he was to be imprisoned for twelve months, and then suffer perpetual banishment from Venetia. Upon this, Francesco requested that search might be made in his room at Padua, by a public functionary, where a large number of

¹ Lent fast, also course of sermons preached during Lent.

letters in cypher and counter cypher were discovered concealed in a cabinet, where all the above was clearly proved, as well as what the government thought fit to conceal." ¹

But lest Fra Fulgenzio be charged with exaggeration of this plot against Fra Paolo Sarpi, will the reader permit a further corroboration of these facts from Fra Francesco Gio. Gratiani's own pen, although it involves some repetition? Throughout a MS. letter to Pope Paul V, Francesco calls himself "Fra Gio." He tells of his reception of a letter from Rome from Fra Bernardo of Perugia in the service of the Cardinal Borghese; of his being asked to go to Venice to ascertain from Antonio (Fra Paolo's secretary), if Fra Paolo was writing a history of the Popes, as also of his being desired to advise Antonio to leave Paolo's service.

These injunctions he says he obeyed, and easily got access to Fra Antonio, as he had formerly known him, and found many volumes in his cell of a pernicious nature, and specially notes, "Confessioni della fede di alcune Chiese sparse in Francia, et in altre parte del mondo," and that there were also many other heretical books shown to him by Fra Antonio, who at first appeared afraid, but afterwards promised to send some of the books to Fra Gio, and also to go to Padua to pass eight or ten days with Fra Antonio, and confided to Fra Gio that the great aim of Sarpi was to deal a good blow to the Popes of Rome, and to show that all the troubles in the Church came into it by the Popes.

Fra Gio also relates, that he immediately communicated with Fra Bernardo at Rome, and sent him the title of Fra Paolo's book, telling him that it had been taken from Fra Antonio's table, and continues,

"One morning, after he had celebrated mass, I took him to S. Giustina, to the chapel of the blessed Virgin, into a remote secret place, and reasoned with him in this manner: 'Fra Antonio, I wish to tell you something very important, but before I tell you, you must swear on the holy stone before the blessed Virgin.'

"Fra Antonio swore that he would not tell one living person. I said, this negotiation was for the honour of God, for the good of our holy Christian religion and of our Order; that I understood that they wished to have some of the writings of Fra Paolo at Rome, and to see under his hands his writings against the Roman pontiffs, and that doing this would do honour to God, and to the Catholic religion. And I showed him the said letter from Rome, and the intentions of your Holiness, and of the Cardinal Borghese. Fra Antonio on

¹ MS.

seeing this letter, conceived high hopes of temporal weal," and Fra Gio states, "that towards two o'clock in the morning they consorted how to steal the writings of Fra Paolo, and that on that occasion Fra Antonio said, 'Fra Gio Francesco, I wish to tell you an important matter,' and then in lengthy phrase he related, how he had once been asked to kill Fra Paolo; that he then could not imbrue his hands in his blood, but he expressed himself now willing to rid the world both of Fra Paolo and Fra Fulgenzio, if Bernardo would send the poison from Rome."

He added, "that nothing was easier than to poison them, as they dined together after the other friars had dined. Upon Fra Antonio saying, that he would write to Bernardo on this subject, Fra Gio said he would write first, and expressed a wish to have a copy of the heretical book."

The day after, Fra Antonio returned to Venice, and Fra Gio rose early for matins and left the lamp burning. When he returned, Fra Antonio had written and sealed his letter. Fra Gio opened it and read it, and judging that its contents were not sufficiently obscure, he told him so. On this Fra Antonio wrote him a second letter and sent it to Rome, but other letters passed, and there is an acknowledgment of 10 scudi. At length it occurred to Fra Antonio that it would be a good plan if he took an impression of the keys of the room of Fra Paolo, and it would thus be an easy matter to effect his death, and on this being written to Rome, there came an answer to say, that "this was the easiest and most approved way."

Fra Gio further relates, that soon after this the impression of the keys was taken by Fra Antonio, he intending to go afterwards to Ferrara to have the keys made. He further promised to get some leaves of Fra Paolo's books. Fra Gio mixed the wax and turpentine wherewith the impression was to be made; but it was ill melted. The reader knows the result. It was not the will of heaven that the world should be defrauded of the writings of Fra Paolo Sarpi, and in place of Fra Gio and Fra Antonio sending them to Rome to be committed to the flames, and the whole body of the astonished Servi standing around the murdered Fra Paolo, the Doge and Senate bewailing the irreparable loss of their theologian and counsellor, just retribution overtook the deluded friar. At two o'clock, Fra Gio, when at Maria d'Abramo, Piazzo di S. Marco, was seized by the sbirri, dragged to prison, and shortly after examined before three nobles who, according to the laws of Venice, were present at this inquisitorial inquiry, and was charged with taking the impression of the keys of the Fra Paolo Sarpi. This these judges had learned from the letters which had been found.

Fra Gio laid the whole blame upon Fra Antonio, who was likewise in prison, and from his living tomb Fra Gio complains to the Pope of his treatment as he stood before his judges.¹

Fra Fulgenzio acted wisely in giving information to the State against Francesco, as it is certain that if he and Antonio had been at large they would soon have found means to destroy both Fulgenzio and Fra Paolo. But what did Fra Paolo? Did he seize a dagger and wound his foes to death? Did he mingle a cup of poison, and brood over the deadly potion till he bore it to the hands which had been outstretched against him? Did he feign himself their deliverer, and wile them to the waters around them there to plunge them to their grave? No! The wronged, the oftstricken but noble hearted Servite stooped to no such revenge, to his inmost soul yet thrilled the heavenly tones of the Immaculate One, who in his agony and death besought Heaven's forgiveness for his murderers, and never was Paolo so truly great, so deservedly worthy of praise, so endeared to all who loved him, as when he threw himself on his knees before the Senate and asked forgiveness of his bitterest enemies.

Yet it is easy to perceive that Fra Paolo was grieved that friars of his own Order had sought to do him wrong, but he did not relinquish his task, he persevered in dictating his works, or in correcting them with his own hand, and all who esteemed and venerated him were still more careful of him than they had been prior to this conspiracy. No government ever took more sedulous care of the life of a public servant than did the Doge and Senate of Fra Paolo Sarpi; but he especially acknowledged the Higher Power that had saved him from destruction.

"I have escaped," he writes, "another great conspiracy against my life even the servants of my room have had a hand in it. It pleased God to frustrate their designs, but I am greatly afflicted that men should be imprisoned on my account. Life is little pleasing to me when I see such difficulty in preserving it." He continues his letter with a few notes on public events, intermingled with remarks on a publication which had interested him. He makes various comments on Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio's sermons, and from other MSS. it is certain that Fra Paolo continued to preach as he had formerly done; the following epistle is interesting.

"I did not receive the packet from M. Castrine, which brought yours of the 17th March inclosed, till the day after the courier went away, this day fortnight, though I have letters from different friends

¹ The above, with many other details, is in a MS. purporting to have been actually written by the infamous Fra Gio F. Gratiani. The MS. is authentic, and it is believed never to have been printed.

within that time. I do not know how that packet came to such ill fortune. This was the reason I did not write to you by the last dispatch.

" As to the subject of the question which is now on foot, I wonder what is the reason that those who hold the affirmative, and see by the Scriptures that the Lord's coming will destroy that tyranny, are not contented therewith by waiting for that time, but would needs prevent it by not receiving the admonition which Christ our Lord gave to S. Peter, when by arms he endeavoured to hinder the divine decree of His death. But no one has strength enough to keep man from building his projects more upon human means than upon those which are divine. Even Father Ignatius so relied upon these as if there were none superior.

" The things which happened to the Patriarch on the 1st of May have been very important; and since that, these have been followed by others as weighty, and so there are every day, but the Republic always maintains its dignity. There has been some provision made as to those confessors who scrupled at such of their votaries as had any of the writings which were published in defence of the Republic by them; and this provision is tolerably secure, and it is ordered by a clause that friar of W....., who was turned away a year ago for this business and desired pardon, offering himself to be tried, be still confined in his cell.

" Father Fulgenzio has preached just as you have heard him do two years ago. He has met with great opposition from this nuncio, who has complained of him, saying that he could not deny but that the doctrine was good, but nevertheless he was not bound to stay till the preacher was declared an heretic. And the Pope, making a complaint against him, has said that that preaching of the Scriptures is a suspicious thing; and that he that keeps so close to the Scriptures will ruin the Catholic faith.

" The audiences which attend his sermons have been very numerous and increasing; there have been there sometimes six hundred of the nobility. He has continued to speak the plain truth, proving it by the Word of God, without reproofing anyone by name; and, above all, it has been his way to reprove that ignorance which would adopt the opinions of others in place of understanding one's own duty. Now there cannot be a more mortal offence to the Jesuits than this is, to have no other foundation for all their divinity than the ignorance of the public. As for what you ask me with regard to the mitre, I can tell you with certainty. The Pope of Rome has two mitres, one with two points, similar to those worn by bishops; and this he only uses at masses, and other sacred offices. The other is round, with three crowns, as you have seen the Pope pourtayé; this he wears in processions out of the church, but never at divine service. The

first of these, as you know, is ancient, the last is not above three hundred years old.¹

"I have been often in the Pope's vestry, and have handled all his mitres, and all his Regna Mundi (for so they call these round ones; the others are called Mitres) and I can assure you that there is no letter whatsoever upon any of them: certainly he that says so never saw any of them.

"The endeavour to gain M. Casanbon, methinks, is just like that which *Aesop's fox* used to put tails out of fashion, when Reynard had lost his in a trap.

"The truce with the States, has at last delivered us from the pain of expectation. I don't know which way the Spanish power will turn itself. I have a good mind to think that that nation believes an universal peace best for their own advantage. It is true that God oftentimes makes things turn quite contrary to the designs of men. His sacred will be done!

"As to the designs against my life, since they could not be without intrigues and private practices, and they never did me any real mischief, it is not convenient to proceed to the punishment of the offenders; the business is not yet over, but I do use, and have used, all the interest I can (and I shall succeed in it), to have everything hushed up; and being willing to commit myself to God's protection, I must also follow His commandments, in forgiving those who wrong me.

"I have received from M. Castrine (together with your letters of the 80th of March), some quires of paper on which are inscribed the Constitutions of the Jesuits. I see by them that what part was possible has been taken out of them; and I have not yet read the whole contents, but I already see they contain what is of use to me, and I am greatly obliged to that gentleman for them, but more to you, sir, to whom I am first indebted.

"Monsieur Asselineau tells me that you have a mind to have a picture of the Vice Deo.² I will do what I can to procure one for you if it be possible. Monsieur Castrine told me a short time since that he would fain have one or two. I tried over all the city to get one, but I could not meet with any to be sold; and knowing of none here but one, which the owner valued highly. But I am in hopes that one who has been two years in Rome will bring me a copy, and if he does I will get it from him by all means, that I may gratify you.

"The advice of the truce makes no change to us. We are sure that if

¹ It was Scaliger who wrote that the word, 'Mysterium' was around the triple crown.

² Appendix.

the Spanish designs be to make commotions in Italy, the Pope would not stop them, if he had any hand in it; but if they wish for peace the Pope, with all his power, will not be able to make them stir. We are very well satisfied by what is past and done.

“ We are in such a state of things that truly we are almost come to M. de Bourg’s Litany, Sancte Turca, libera nos, (Holy Turk, deliver us!). God grant that the Swiss do not at last quarrel among themselves. I see the Spaniards have access to them, and the Jesuits great power over them. This is a rugged ugly point to think of, for if two such sorts of people as they are, get into the hearts and affections of the Swiss people, Europe must look for perpetual revolutions, and Italy would weep bitterly. But even the leaf of a tree never falls without the will of God the Lord, to whom we must submit our will. And thus I leave off troubling you any further, and kiss your hands.” ¹

Venice, April 28th 1609.

And in another letter to M. Groslot there is the following passage:

“ The Father Fulgenzio Micanzio has done as becomes a true Catholic; he has preached the gospel of Christ our Lord, and abstained from all personalities. He has not therefore given satisfaction either to Rome or to her adherents, because it is impossible to do so, unless they, instead of Christ, be the subject preached. ² The Pope latterly said of him that his sermons were good, but also bad, that he rested too much upon Scripture, which, if anyone did, he would ruin the Catholic faith. These words are not much approved here, I therefore praise them and hold them true.

“ I see that men, as did the Church in the Acts of the Apostles, agree together not to do what they will, but what God wills.”

About this time Sarpi continued his correspondence with M. Hottman; he admired his efforts for unity in the Church. “ I like M. Hottman much, he is a man of great understanding; I saw a collection of his writings some months since on the matter of agreement. I praise his zeal, and the means he proposes are excellent, but we must await a good opportunity or the effect will be contrary. The science of opportunity, said Socrates, is the only and great leading science in the world. I hold that many of the differences between us are merely *verbal*, they make me smile, others might be calmly endured, and others composed, but all are agreed in this that agreement is impossible. Two litigants will never agree so long as there is any hope of either conquering; but where both are sure they are

¹ Sarpi to M. Groslot.

² Loro e Cristo, quarto caso, come a dire: la dottrina o divinità loro, in luogo di quella di Cristo.

in the right, there is no use to talk of agreement. Both parties hold it for certain they will be victorious, one by divine the other by human means. At to the first, to enter into the secrets of God is a hard thing to do, nor is it right, and the second is forbidden."

Much as theology occupied his mind, astronomy and the other sciences still engaged his attention, and the improved construction of the telescope by Galileo facilitated his study of the orbs which are seen in all their brightness in the Venetian sky. A telescope in a very circumscribed form had been brought from Holland, and by application united to genius Galileo produced one greatly superior. Fra Paolo took an unwearied interest in all Galileo's studies, and there can be no doubt but that the learned Servite afforded him every facility in his power to prosecute his discoveries. "Venice had the merit of patronizing Galileo. There is still existing a decree which appoints him to the chair of mathematics in Padua, and praises him for having lately invented an instrument derived from the secrets of perspective for rendering objects visible at a great distance."¹

12th. Feb. 1610.

Galileo wrote to Sarpi to inform him of his discoveries as to the planet Saturn and the motion of the planet Venus; but while he was pleased to trace the stars and planets in their course, he was far from being satisfied with the aspect of public affairs; the political sky lowered and this acute politician feared a storm. He received his letters as usual from M. Bruslart, and from France, and writing to M. Castrine, he sends him a little work "On Beneficiary Matters." It was published by Paolo Sarpi, but without his name. Extracts from its pages prove that he had fully studied the question of church government, as also the rise and progress of the Papacy, and his remarks upon the Popes evince that he was fearless in speaking truth, and showed what Italy would be, if she regarded the Pope only as Bishop of Rome.² This remarkable work received the unqualified praise of the learned then, as now, and there is no doubt of its authorship, as the letter above mentioned was seen by Foscarini amongst the MSS. of Fontanini.

Of this book Mr. Gibbon writes, "In the treatise *Delle Materie Beneficiare* of Fra Paolo, in the fourth and best edition of his works, the Papal system is deeply studied and freely described. Should Rome and her system be annihilated, this golden volume may still survive, a philosophied history and a salutary warning." Mr. Hallam observes, "Nothing was more worthy of remark, especially in literary history, than the appearance of one great man, Fra Paolo Sarpi, the first who

¹ Reg. Senato Terra. 25 Aug. 1609. R. Brown.

² Appendix.

in modern times and in a Christian country shook the fabric not only of papal despotism, but of ecclesiastical independence and power, for it is to be observed that the Pope was contending for what were called the rights of the Church not for his own supremacy over it. Sarpi was a man of extraordinary genius, learning, and judgment; his physical and anatomical knowledge was such as to have caused at least several great discoveries to be assigned to him. His reasoning was concise and cogent, his style perspicuous and animated. A treatise, *Delle Materie Beneficiare*, in other words, on the rights, revenues, and privileges in secular matters, is a model in its way. The history is so short, and yet so sufficient, the sequence so natural and clear, the proofs so judiciously introduced, that it can never be read without delight and admiration of the author's skill. And this is the more striking to those who have toiled at the verbose books of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, where tedious quotations, accumulated not selected, disguise the arguments which they mean to confirm. Except the first book of Machiavelli's *History of Florence*, I do not remember any earlier summary of facts so lucid and pertinent to the object. That object was neither more or less than to represent the wealth and power of the Church as ill gotten and excessive. The treatise on benefits led the way, or rather was the seed thrown into the ground that ultimately produced the many efforts both of the press and of public authority to break down these privileges."

But we must pass on to an event by which Europe was alarmed, amid preparations of war, the death of Henry IV; there was reason to apprehend evil results; but the Servite was reassured by the nobility of France being true to the crown, and the people peaceful.

Another painful event at Rome also demands our attention; the wretched Manfredi, having failed to procure advancement there, was tried for his life under pretences of which Sarpi seems ignorant.

"Fra Fulgenzio (*Manfredi*) went away as you know in the beginning of August 1608, with an ample patent of safe conduct and a particular clause in it that nothing should be done against his honor. At Rome they tampered with him to induce him to abjure and to do public penance, but he refused, and referred to his safe conduct. At last persisting in his denial to do public penance, he contented himself with making a secret abjuration before a notary and two witnesses, and this by a new declaration by the Cardinals that it should be understood as done without dishonor or prejudice to him. Time passed, sometimes things went well sometimes ill, when one evening Cardinal Panfilio the Pope's Vicar suddenly sent some sbirri to apprehend him, pretending that he had done something, I know not what, connected with his office. They put him

in prison in the tower of Nona where men are imprisoned for ordinary offences. They then seized and examined his papers, this done, they removed him to the prison of the Inquisition. They then made three charges against him, that he had prohibited books, held correspondence with the heretics of England and Germany, and written articles against the Romish Catholic doctrine, in particular that Saint Peter was not above the other Apostles, that the Pope is not head of the church, that the Concil of Trent was neither a lawful nor a general Council, that there are many heresies in the church of Rome, and many other such things.

" To these charges he answered, ' that as to the books, he did not know they were prohibited, as to his correspondents, none of them were declared heretics, as to the writings under his own hand, they were imperfect, and not his real opinions, but only memoranda for consideration of these points.' These answers did not satisfy the Inquisitors; they were determined to bring him to the torture, and on this being intimated to him he answered, that he was not amenable to torture, but that they might do as they pleased, he threw himself upon their mercy. On the 4th of July he was brought into the Church of St. Peter's, where there was a numerous concourse of people, and being placed upon the ground, his crimes were read and his sentence passed on him.

" He was sentenced to be excluded from the pale of the Church as a relapsed heretic, and delivered over to the Governor of Rome to be chastised, but without drawing blood. At this ceremony, which lasted an hour, Fra Fulgentio stood with his eyes lifted up to heaven, but never spoke a word, and it was a common opinion that he had a gag in his mouth.

" The ceremony being finished, he was conducted to the Church of S. Salvatore, in Laura, and there degraded, and the following morning hanged and burned in the Campo de' Fiori. There are various opinions as to whether these things which are laid to his charge are true, or are calumnies; but some, presupposing that they were true, do not hesitate to say that he was wronged, because on account of the safe conduct, the abjuration and looking upon him as relapsed was not to be turned to his prejudice. I know not how to judge, but the beginning and end, a safe conduct, and a great fire; what passed in the interim is hidden, but from this we may conclude that the Pope has little favour to Venice. We have had many other indications of this, and therefore the Padre Paolo had better be cautious. He therefore does not fail in ordinary care, but leaves all to God, being certain that whatever God does will be good.

" As to the affairs of Italy, they are in great confusion. The Pope

labours hard to bring about war, and an accommodation between Savoy and Spain. I believe he will succeed, and then Savoy will fall upon Geneva, and the Pope upon Venice; but Venice cannot be persuaded of this, and obstinately maintains she is in no danger, which is, however, so plain that the blind may see it. This makes me fear that she has no longer Divine help, and is in such a state of blindness as not to see light at noonday. But since I can only complain, I had better be silent. As for the affairs of France, I am truly glad that they prosper. I regret to think how many years must pass during the minority of the king, seeing the designs already formed, and the Jesuits more insolent and more bold than ever. If it were not for them, I would hope that the other intrigues might be overcome, or borne with by the prudence of the queen, but when so many men are resolved to do ill, it is likely, if not now or to-morrow, yet the day after, they may succeed. The only intent of Spain is to divide that kingdom, having so many wise and bold ministers. To see the queen so fond of friars and Jesuits, and make so little of the Parliament, are not good signs. I have considered what you write of a Jesuit who boasts that he would raise an army, and of their great acquisition of money. It appears to me a thing not to be neglected. I know well that, notwithstanding their banishment from Venice, they get very large sums of money from this city, and it cannot be hindered. And if it be the will of God, and according to the prophecies of the Holy Scriptures, men have nothing to do but prepare for suffering. ”

“ I think the Huguenots are very wise who stand looking on, that they may know how to govern themselves according to circumstances. God bless their designs. But I was not aware of the tedium of my letter which may perhaps arrive when you are ill. Excuse me, I beg you to continue your kindness to me, and I shall alway remain your devoted servant.”¹

“ Venice, August 3, 1610.”

Fra Paolo had observed that great abuses had arisen on account of the churches being made a refuge for offenders flying from justice; he therefore wrote a short treatise against this practice. He divided the work into two parts. The first comprised the right of asylum granted and circumscribed by the Emperor, and how it ought to be understood; the second what sanctuaries are allotted by the Canonists, who ought to be permitted to fly there, who taken thence. From this he discoursed on the bull of Gregory XIV, on the immunities of the Church, demonstrated their signification and concluded with a brief epitome of

¹ F. P. S. to M. Groslot.

the sanctuaries amongst the Jews, Greeks and Romans, and a comparison of them with those of Christendom.¹ This is followed by a minute, divided into twenty four heads, by which a magistrate might at once judge who ought and who ought not to obtain refuge. He considered that sanctuaries for offenders was an abuse, under pretext of being one of the immunities of the Church, ~~he~~ advised tolerance but restricted the above privilege to insolvent, not fraudulent debtors, and to accidental delinquents.

This work of Fra Paolo's was, however, in advance of the age, and the Pope, so far from hailing a step which would have prevented much crime, prohibited the volume. Grotius however called its author, "Paolo the great," Frickleburg translated it into Latin. The Senate of Milan added it to their statutes, while other Italian States did likewise and the work had a large circulation.

The MS. of it, presented by Paolo to the Senate, was of greater length than that in its printed form. He also wrote a work "on the Adriatic" and it is probable, from some notes on the rainbow in his MSS., he did not overlook the discovery of the Archbishop de Dominis, whose work "De radiis lucis in vitris perspectivis et Iride," was then published. "There can be no doubt but this volume explained more of the phenomena of the rainbow than had hitherto been understood. The rainbow was well known to be the reflection of solar light from drops of rain, but it belonged to the genius of De Dominis to discover that refraction was the means of giving colour to the rays of the sun.... Placing a glass between the eye and a bottle of water, from the lower side of which light issued in the same order of colours as in the rainbow, De Dominis inferred, that after two refractions and one intermediate reflection within the drop, the ray came to the eye tinged with the different colours, according to the angle at which it entered."²

At a later period, Sarpi announced peace to his friend M. Groslot, when many feared war, but he intimates that it was against the wishes of the Duke of Savoy. The siege of Geneva having ended in nothing, the Pope still hoped for better fortune in Germany, and treated with the Jesuits as to war in France.

While such was the state of the political world, Sarpi and his friends continued at times their public yet gentle remonstrances, but a lethargy as to papal aggression had stolen over the Venetians, and the voice of Paolo Sarpi was like the melancholy note of the bird of night pouring his solitary moan over a darkened world. Fra Fulgenzio

¹ Giovini.

² Hallam.

did not preach in Lent because dissuaded by him, but Fra Fulgenzio, Paolo, and Marsilio preached in the church of Lorenzo, February 10th, 1611.

In trivial matters the Pope continued to yield to Venice, but still strove to retain power over Ceneda. Fra Paolo wrote an account of this quarrel for the Senate, and the Cardinal Borghese complained that he "was still considered an oracle!" In the end, this matter was partially compromised, but while the flatterers of the Pope still exalted his temporal power, Sarpi likened them "to those animals who climbed too high and were sure to fall." He grieved that a book of the Jesuits had been received at Florence, which would not have been tolerated at Venice; but no book written by a Jesuit was allowed to circulate there. These following observations have justly been deemed remarkable.

"Seeing the disputes that arise between the Jesuits and other Papists as to the Gallican liberties, if the Reformed would assist the cause of liberty which although not perfect is less hurtful, it might be that the Jesuits who are the great enemies of true religion might be weakened, and this would open up a way of agreement with the Gallicans. No undertaking can be greater than to bring the Jesuits into discredit. Conquer them, Rome is lost, and without them religion will reform itself."

While many were occupied with the great power obtained by the Jesuits over nearly the known world, and whilst Sarpi bewailed the decline of true religion in his own country, the Pope gained fresh adherents in Germany, but at Rome no Venetian was promoted to the Cardinalate, "Good men accounted it a public service."

To their dismay, the Italians learned that the Spaniards had seized Capel. The Viceroy had shewn his independence by hanging an offender who had taken refuge in the church before the Archbishop's door, but Sarpi was more astonished that the English Ambassador obtained the release of a captive from the Inquisition. He also wished to gain tidings of the procedure of the French parliament against Bellarmine, as some of his friends "amongst the Senators could scarcely bear to hear his name, and spoke of him as one born to disturb the peace of Christendom."

A controversial work of M. de Mornay was now sent to Sarpi, it made a considerable impression at and since the time of its publication.¹

¹ This volume forms part of the valuable library of the late learned Lord Handyside, to which I was permitted access by Mrs. Handyside, née Bruce. "Mysterium Iniquitatis sev Historia Papatus," etc. Philipo Mornayo Pestaci.

He thought "the Sorbonne might have censured it more modestly," but censures in large measure were dealt out to those who wielded their pens against the Curia.

The ambassador Bruslart now offered to expedite Fra Paolo's letters, but he knew his character and therefore declined, he received his letters from him but sent no answers to his care, and on the plea of his office, refused to receive the ambassador's visits. Chagrined by these determinations, Bruslart said, "that Fra Paolo was a man without religion, faith or conscience, and that he did not believe in the immortality of the soul." M. Bruslart also received command from M. Villeroi to arrange matters with the Nuncio, that Fra Paolo might be taxed with the said letters, his MSS. examined and his portfolio and papers seized.

But no such interference was allowed, and the Senators told the Nuncio, as to his writing to heretics, it did not follow because Fra Paolo wrote to them that he "*was what they called a heretic.*" At this the Nuncio was greatly disturbed, and informed Borghese, "that he had great fears that the Venetians would separate from the Catholic Church, and exclude themselves from the authority of N. S. by the artifices of Fra Paolo, Nicolo Contarini, Sebastiano Veneiro, and such like."

To Fra Paolo Sarpi the name of Sir Dudley Carlton, the ambassador from England to Venetia, sounded uncouthly, but he takes an early opportunity to write in praise of an Englishman of whom it was said, "though a statesman, he was an honest man."

Plots against the life of King James continued, and Sir Dudley informs his Majesty of Great Britain of a meditated attempt of the kind by the Jesuits, thus, "because of an advertisement I have from many hands that the Jesuits at Rome have lately given orders to all their society, to use prayers for quarante hore for the good successe of a great enterprise they have in hand, the like whereof was said to be done before November the preceding year." Fra Paolo was not singular in his opinion of their practices.

Intolerance was still rife elsewhere, M. Richer (a man too well known for his abilities and works to need any further comment here), had been assailed at Paris; his foes called aloud for his death, and the Society of Jesus were bitter against him, but amidst the storm of menace that would have delivered him up to the rage of his opponents the still small voice of mercy was heard, Pierre Cosnier an ecclesiastic of great piety addressed an admonitory letter in favor of Richer to M. de Harlay, Abbot of S. Victor, commencing with the touching words, "Ego cogitationes pacis et non afflictionis." This letter disarmed Richer's foes; thus charity shed its soft light, and intolerance for a

time withered beneath its ray, but the tumult raised on account of his book continued long, and Fra Paolo endeavors to comfort his friend M. Grosseto on this subject. And he appears glad that there is a prospect of coming differences with Rome which might be beneficial to the Republic; the whole letter is full of interest.

The reader will call to mind the name of one of the theologians, a Neapolitan divine, who had been cited to Rome but had not obeyed the summons, yet answered by a manly protest. In the month of February 1612, Marsilio had been taken ill, and three of the physicians who attended him declared that he had died of poison.

"Giovanni Marsilio," writes Sarpi, "died here yesterday. I think you knew him well; he was in bed ten days; the physicians say he was poisoned, of which I say nothing now, as I knew nothing previously, some priests endeavored to make him recant what he had written but he always remained firm, saying, he wrote what he did for the sake of the truth, and would die in that belief. M. Asselineau often visited him and is able to give you many particulars of his illness, for I neither could or would search into the matter, for various reasons. I believe that if it were not for state reasons, there are divers persons who would vault from this pit of Rome to the height of Reform, but one is afraid of one thing and another of another."¹ Grave suspicions were entertained by many besides the physicians, that Marsilio had met his death by poison, while Sarpi declares this, he feels it was needless to pursue the matter further. But he was satisfied that Marsilio, strong in death in the principles he had advocated, was in reality a victor though apparently among the vanquished: his name has come down to posterity as one who boldly dared to write in favor of the Republic of Venice when the Pope sought to defraud her of her rights, and never does this able patriot appear more truly great than when contemplated on his bed of death, outstretched there a victim, but a victim in a righteous cause. The visits of the good Asselineau were doubtless a solace when in his misery. Asselineau was a physician of no small value, for he could minister not only to the body, but to the soul, deep in the tomb Marsilio was laid, subtle poison had chilled his life blood, and Sarpi could do no more than in a private letter express himself as above; his words afford proof that death did not terrify Marsilio from his allegiance to Heaven and to his Prince, but that Rome was relentless to those who challenged her power as supreme.

The words, "I believe, that if it were not for state reasons there are

¹ Credo che se non fosse per ragion di stato, si troverebbero diversi che saltrebbero da questo fosso di Roma nella cima della Reforma, ma chi teme una cosa, chi un'altra, &c. — Venice, 18th February, 1612, To M. de l' Isola Grosseto.

The
divers persons who would vault from this pit of Rome to the height of reform," are words which some have severely censured, others attempted to get rid of, but this has been found impossible. The passage is one of the strongest in the writings of Sarpi and it confirms ^{the} the opinion that he did wish the Church of Rome freed from the tyranny of the Court of Rome. Perhaps these words were wrung from his pen as he thought on Marsilio in all the agonies of a violent death, and few knew better than Sarpi in his own person what it was to differ from a court which endeavored to assume the dictatorship of the world. There can be no doubt that had the rulers of Venice declared for absolute reform, all the powers of Europe who had commanded it within the Church would have declared for Venice, and she would have continued to hold her place among the nations, but Spain was strong, and old habits and prejudices were stronger still. Venice was to pass through a long and dreary servitude before she would awake, like the wise of Italy, to see that a thorough reform of the church and separation from the Pope and Court of Rome is not a change of religion, but a return to the religion taught by the Holy Apostles, and that restoration of the Sacred Scriptures to the people is a right of which none dare to rob them with impunity. Is there no one bold enough now to vault over the trench or pit of Rome? Two hundred and fifty years have passed since Marsilio died, and during all this time the Court of Rome has kept the Church enthralled. Can men not learn from past history? Can they not imitate the bold? Can no one, who has not only the will, as had Sarpi, but the power, free his country from the Court of Rome? Is there, as has been lately asked, no Sarpi left amongst the great intellects which adorn Italy, no senator who can rise in his place like the great, the immortal Cavour, and recalling Sarpi to their mind, as he did in one of his latest addresses to the senators, ask them to free the Church of Rome from the Pope and Court of Rome?

Never till the Senate of Italy is persuaded that reform within the Church is only a return to the old and true religion, and that no people can serve two masters, will the Pope become again Bishop of Rome, and Italy disengaged of his power be wholly free!

Still closely watched, though still closely cared for, Sarpi as usual employed a cypher, or dictated some of his letters. In one of them he concludes thus, "because this is a letter which may be seen by all, I wish to gratify myself by showing my respect for you, in sending you a little of my own handwriting, ¹ remaining your most devoted servant. " All

¹ 21st March. 1612.

his letters which the writer has seen, and they are a considerable number in MS., are signed "F. Paolo di Venetia," and are addressed "Al Molto Reverendissimo Fra Paolo de Serui." Generally speaking he wrote to his intimate friends himself, but sometimes Fra Fulgenzio wrote to them for him. He frequently concluded his letters by a message from Fulgenzio, and from the noble Molino who was often in his company.

Political events were gloomy, and Sarpi judged that the coronation of Matthias as Emperor of Germany was overshadowed by the Pope's insertion in the Decretals, "that now the examination of the election and of the person elected, as well as the confirmation belongs to him; and that the elect Emperor ought to take an oath of fidelity to him, also that the administration of the vacant empire belongs to him, but that God is above all, and as he wills that prayer be made to him so will he listen, according to his divine purpose." Further, Sarpi surmised that Albert would be king of the Romans, and Spain obtain a stronger hold upon Germany.

The Turks were again in motion, the Spanish fleet kept watch at Otranto, Sarpi supposed in the hope that the Republic and the Ottomans might quarrel. The disgust between Rome and Venice grew wider, and Sarpi was still in bad odour with the Pope, which is plain from a despatch of M. de Breves to the King of France, of August 14th. "I omitted to write to your Majesties by the former ordinary, that the Pope had told me that he knew for certain that Frere Paul, who is in the employ of the Republic, had evil intentions against your Majesties well being, as might be seen by his letters which have been intercepted. They were addressed to some private individuals of the Reformed religion in their service, and shown to them by the Papal Nuncio. I have informed M. Leo Bruslart, their Ambassador at Venice, but he will not mention the subject until their intentions are known. As to the differences between his Holiness and the Venetians they are kept secret, and neither party complains, so that it is much better to appear to know nothing of them than to think of finding a remedy, added to which, the Venetians would distrust your Majesties, as they do his Holiness, on account of the continued alliance with Spain."

One of the causes of difference certainly was the bad odour in which the theologian of Venice was held by the Pope, he had little rest, his enemies were still on the watch to take his life; a secret plot had been discovered against him by the Venetian Ambassador at Rome of which he says little more than, "the Senate are so good as to have heard this with disgust."

But amidst his own troubles the deprivation of the Syndic Richer had deeply affected him; he knew that the Jesuits had prevailed against this innocent man whose defence was not permitted to be published, which Sarpi regretted, as he hoped it might have led to more liberty of conscience. And on this account he turned with pleasure to the amicable terms on which Venetia and Holland were united. He had hoped that the projected marriage between the Prince of Wales and a Princess of the Romish Church would be a means of diminishing the reputation of the Pope, who was by no means pleased that Princes of the Church of Rome made alliances for their daughters with Princes of the Reformed religion, but his hopes were disappointed by the death of the Prince of Wales. "God grant," he writes, "that it may not overwhelm the King with sorrow, a greater he could not suffer."

One might have supposed that Fra Paolo did not require any additional employment, but by command, he now wrote his history of the Uscochs, a horde of Dalmatians who lived chiefly in Segna, an inaccessible city of the Adriatic, near Spalatro. These pirates indulged in desperate undertakings, in which they were joined by men of infamous character Venetians, Dalmatians, Turks, Croats and English. Under pretence of forming an advanced guard in time of war, these desperadoes were permitted to dwell under the sovereignty of Austria. Their number was only one thousand, yet they were a terror to Venetia, and on one occasion dared to send a present of sixty human heads to the Signory: irritated by this conduct the Republic blockaded Segna, but the pirates withdrew from the coast and ravaged Istria under Austrian colors.

The Austrians affected ignorance, but summary justice followed. The Uscochs retreated, but returned to the charge with redoubled fury, and as many troops had to be despatched against them, Venetia followed the counsel which Fra Paolo had formerly given, to employ soldiers of the Reformed religion, and thus four thousand Hollanders honorably kept the city from the fangs of the destroyer. He believed that his countrymen would acquire much good from a closer acquaintance with the Germans and Dutch and that thus prejudice against the religion of those who had protested against popery would be subdued for himself, he stood on the broad basis of the Nicene creed.

But Paul V still persevered against Fra Paolo, and continued to incite the French Ambassador to demand satisfaction at his own Court. The letters of M. de Bréves are painful instances of intolerance, but truth prevailed, and the integrity of Fra Paolo was a rampart against which all the waves of envy, bigotry and persecution beat in vain.

While the affairs of Hungary and Poland became more and more

entangled by the Jesuits, the Turks were constructing a bridge across the Danube for an easy passage for their army; and the Duke of Savoy surprised Montferrat, but his claims to it being laid aside, the Cardinal assumed the title of Duke of Mantua.

At a somewhat later period Sarpi was commanded by the Duke of Savoy to be rewarded for his writings during the Interdict. He had not yet laid down his pen, as we find a small work issue from it, "On immunities of the Church," written only for his friends but printed by the Senator Molino, besides his being known to have continued his greater volumes.

In the beginning of the year 1614, a gleam of light burst across the papal mind, Paul V spoke with kindness of Fra Paolo; it is pleasant to note the change. The Bishop of Tino had been accused by the Inquisitors, he was cited to Venice and there called upon to defend himself. The case was referred to Fra Paolo whose advice was followed, and the Bishop was honorably reinstated in his see, and on his way to the east he waited upon the Pope, who when speaking of Fra Paolo said, "that he was both temperate and just." On hearing this the Servite remarked. "Now we have a Pope who is friendly, I pray God that he may live longer than I, because of his successors."

On the 22nd of December the Doge Memmo died, and Giovanni Bembo was elected in his room. There had been an ineffectual effort to introduce reformation in the Church into Venice during this year. The Republic was shewing increased subserviency to the Pope, which not only then weakened the government, but was one of the principal causes of its overthrow. Sarpi raised his voice in vain, Spain was still the foe of Venice, the Republic endeavored to avert a war, but the Duke of Ossuna incited the Pope and Uscochs against her and sent troops into Milan, and armed vessels into the Adriatic.

The Republic complained to the Court of Madrid, and the Duke was commanded to disarm, but on this he invited the Uscochs to Naples and threatened to surprise the city of Venice: the whole year was one of continued warfare by sword and by pen, and Sarpi furnished a supplement to his History of the Uscochs. He also continued his astronomical pursuits with Galileo, and in a memorandum from the Schedæ Sarpiæ, "Per mia memoria," he foretells the misfortunes which were about to fall on the great Florentine.

"Since I hear from the M. N. and M. I. Senator Molino, that M. Galileo Galilei is about to go to Rome, being invited there by several Cardinals to lay before them his opinions respecting his discoveries in the heavens; I fear that if in such circumstances he brings forward the learned considerations which have induced him to prefer the theory

of the Canon Copernicus of our solar system, he will incur the ill will of the Jesuits and of the other monks, that the physical and astronomical question will be changed by them into a matter of theology and I foresee with sorrow that he will have to recant his opinions upon it, if he would live in peace without being regarded ~~as~~ a heretic. Yet I am sure that the day will come when more enlightened men will deplore Galileo's misfortunes and the injustice done to so great a man, but in the mean time he must endure it, and complain only in secret." Again, "the Copernican hypothesis, far from being contrary to the word of God as revealed in the sacred pages, rather does honor to his omnipotence and infinite wisdom, both as regards the order and arrangement of the terrestrial mechanism, and that of all the other orbs which constitute the wondrous spectacle of the universe." A later age acknowledged the truth of these remarks, and at Florence Leopold II, Grand Duke of Tuscany, commanded the execution of frescoes in which Sarpi and Galileo are delineated, as well as a collection of Galileo's mechanical, and optical instruments with which Sarpi was conversant.

In the month of June Sir Henry Wotton was again appointed Ambassador from Great Britain to Venice, his esteem for Fra Paolo continued, and to him is to be imputed his Sovereign's requests that he should go to England. But his friend Bedell did not return to Venice, and this was probably one reason why Paolo again welcomed de Dominis the Archbishop of Spalatro, and steadily keeping in view his desire for reform within the Church of Rome, it is evident that throughout his life, he looked favourably on whoever was most likely to aid in this laudable purpose. In the time of the Interdict, it has been noticed, that the Archbishop de Dominis associated with Fra Paolo. Discontented with the Pope and Court of Rome, he had introduced many wise reforms into his diocese, and where heathen orgies had once been celebrated on the site of part of the magnificent remains of the temple and palace of the Emperor Diocletian at Spalatro, De Dominis had advocated many wise measures as to reformation of the Church. He was, however, of a restless disposition, and on coming to Venice made the acquaintance of Fra Paolo and the seven, probably in the hope that the Republic of Venice would be freed from the Court of Rome. Fra Paolo had such confidence in him, as actually to lend to him his MS. of the History of the Council of Trent, in order that he might read it. It appears a most extraordinary act on the part of Fra Paolo to intrust any one with a MS. which he had guarded so carefully; which he never said that he had written, but which had cost him so many years of toil and labor. How De Dominis acted, will be seen in the sequel; but for the present he must be followed

to Coire in the Grisons, Heidelberg, and subsequently to England. Tidings of his manifesto appear to have reached Fra Paolo, because he says he "suspended his judgment with regard to a prelate," as also that he mentions a "manifesto of De Dominis;" but after observing, "that all he printed was certain to be prohibited," he adds, "that he knew nothing further respecting him." At a later period he thus writes to M. Gillot: "I have news from my friend of the Archbishop of Spalatro. He conversed confidentially with him, and he saw some of his books about to be published, he assured me that they were written without any pretension, or any appearance of controversy. He avoids all bitterness; he only maintains his own opinions distinctly, and proves all by ancient documents. However, my friend neither praised their prolixity (which is perhaps extreme), nor the vacillation or anxiety of mind, which the author ingenuously confesses, I should admire it if he lived in France, where interchange of thought is not forbidden to any, but in a place where men are deprived from their cradles of liberty of thought I value it highly in a Dalmatian, who has been brought up in the dungeons of the Jesuits, that he has been able to extricate himself from darkness. In forming my judgment of his worth and learning, I take these difficulties into account; I could not otherwise have spoken of them in such absolute terms."

Thus charitably did Sarpi write of De Dominis. Having declared himself one of the Reformed in England, De Dominis was received with great distinction at Court by the King, entertained sumptuously by the Universities, and lodged by royal command at the palace of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

After the ceremony of the renunciation of his episcopacy at St. Paul's Cathedral, London, he was presented to the Mastership of the Savoy, London, and to the living and parsonage of West Ilsley, Berkshire; but De Dominis was not satisfied.

His work "De Republica Ecclesiastica," was one of great service, but the vacillating nature of its author impaired its usefulness latterly. High authority pronounced its arguments unanswerable, but the Nuncio demanded a prohibition of his works, and Sarpi had again the mortification to see one, who he had hoped might benefit his country, leave him to struggle on without the aid of his pen or his high dignity to assist him, but Sarpi was obedient to the commands of heaven.

Heaven had given him the key which unlocks its portals, the late dews of night and the first breath of early morn found him supplicating for his country, and the Christian patriot resigned himself to the thought, that whatever God permitted to happen to the Church, it would be for her benefit; he thus wrote:

“ As to what I touched upon in my letter concerning the Kingdom of Heaven, Christ is, without doubt, a King and Priest. ‘ He hath made us all,’ says St. Peter, ‘ priests and kings,’ that is he hath made his Church a royal priesthood, by making his ministers partakers of the royal and priestly power. Admit this; he hath made his stewards and ministers viceroys in his absence. This is certain, ‘ As my Father sent me, so I send you.’ It belongs to the Kingdom of Heaven; it neither receives nor gives anything of mutual help from, or to an earthly King. And there is no wonder in this; they do not walk together, they cannot meet together. Christ’s minister and vicar has his conversation in heaven, from whence we look for Christ the Saviour. The King of France has no diminution of power, because his dominion does not reach to the stars. The Kingdom of Heaven is further from the French nation than those stars are. ‘ The Kingdom of Heaven is within you,’ said Christ (St. Luke xviii.). But whether an earthly prince does anything towards the Kingdom of Heaven, he will best be able to say who learns from history, how much more it prospered under Diocletian than under Constantine. No one comes after Christ but one that takes up His cross.

“ The Kingdom of Heaven began by the cross, it is extended and perfected by the cross: not but that the Church may flourish in peace, because God sometimes plants it by the favour of princes, and sometimes by persecution; ‘ through honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report,’ (2 Cor. vi). ‘ All things work together for good to them that love God.’ I have not taken the words of the Kingdom of Heaven as meant of the Church on earth; and I so conceive the Scriptures teach me to understand it....

“ They are Christ’s ministers who have the keys of the Kingdom committed to them. Nobody can say that he that keeps the keys of the house is the house itself; and in the first and second chapters of St. John’s Revelation those words, ‘ Thou hast made us unto our God kings and priests, and we shall reign on the earth,’ are not only spoken of his ministers, but of all else, of every tribe, language, people, and nation that are cleansed and redeemed by the blood of Christ.”

Sarpi speaks of those who engrossed the name of “ Church ” to themselves, who also took to themselves its goods and estates, and those of Rome had given him a very low place, because he did “ not allow them a coercive power over sovereigns.”

CHAPTER X.

A.D. 1618 — A.D. 1623.

DOGE OF VENICE. 1618 Niccolò Donato. 1618 Antonio Priuli.
 SOVEREIGNS OF GERMANY. Matthias. Ferdinand.

France — GREAT BRITAIN. James I. —
 SPAIN. Philip III. 1621 Philip IV.
 TURKEY. Mustapha. Osman III. Mustapha.
 POPEs. Paul V. 1621 Gregory XV.

Conspiracy. — F. Paolo's history of the Council of Trent. — Public events. — Death of Paul V. — Gregory XV. — Prince de Conde's visit. — Fra Paolo's illness and death. — Public funeral. — His remains about to be disturbed are hidden, exhumed and reburied, again raised. — Buried in the church of S. Michele di Murano.

Fra Paolo Sarpi was not mistaken in his fears for his country. Like a gem of matchless beauty and great value, Venetia had long been coveted by the unscrupulous and the ambitious. The year 1618 was peculiarly dark to her, a deep plot had been laid against her, and she seemed about to be swept from her high place amongst the nations of Europe. Little however of this conspiracy has been published, and they who would explore its labyrinths must track them in the Archives of Venice. The Senate commanded Fra Paolo to write an account of it. He had long believed that one of the powers of Europe was ready to make Venetia her own, but it is not for his biographer to do more than express gladness that he never saw his country beneath a foreign yoke.

No alarm, no illness, no business however pressing, seems ever to have severed him wholly from his studies; and amongst them at this time he is found making notes on a treatise by the learned Scot, Anderson, Professor of Mathematics at Paris. We have also of this date some thoughts from Paolo's pen on a well known passage of Cicero,¹ and in this, as in all his other writings, he ascribes honor to Him by whose fiat all things were created.

¹ "Est enim admirabilis quædam continuatio seriesque rerum, ut aliæ ex aliis nexæ, et omnes inter se aptæ colligataeque videantur." De Natura Deorum, lib. 1.

His correspondence, however, met with a severe check; in his last letter to M. Groslot he refers to the difficulty with which he sent a letter to him, and they who are hasty in their condemnation of the government of Venice may learn what great necessity there was for vigilance, when their theologian and counsellor could not correspond even with a friend in safety, watched over as he and probably every other member of the Venetian government were by foreign spies. But his opinions were still the same, he still sighed as much for reformation in the Church as when Diodati, Bedell and others had urged it upon him during and subsequent to the Interdict, although almost prevented from correspondence with its advocates: but he still availed himself of any opportunity to show himself friendly to those of the Reformed religion, as is evinced by his conduct to a near relative of his old friend M. de Mornay, who far from his home and in the prime of youth and hope lay dying.

The learned Daillé had accompanied this youth and his brother to Italy. And all three being of the Reformed religion, they feared to remain in Mantua on account of the Inquisition, but proceeded to Padua. There the youth was tended with great care by M. Asselineau, the friend of Fra Paolo, another physician, and an apothecary, all of the Reformed religion, but their aid was fruitless, their patient died, and Fra Paolo, to whom they had letters of introduction from du Plessis Mornay, obtained permission from the Venetian government to furnish the mourners with what leave was necessary, that the body of the youth might be taken to Saumur, and buried there.

This was no small boon and is one of the many proofs of the tolerance of Sarpi.

To the surprise of many, but to no one more than to the author himself, the History of the Council of Trent now appeared. This last Council of the Church of Rome, which sat at intervals from 1545 till 1563, is too generally known to require more particular notice than that it was assembled in order to correct, illustrate and fix with perspicuity the doctrines of the church, to restore her discipline, and to reform the lives of the clergy.

The preponderance of papal authority, and subsequent interpretation of the decrees of Trent being so distasteful to many of the members of the Church of Rome, Sarpi wrote an authentic account of that assembly which, although called to cement the divisions in the Church, in reality widened them.

The writer of these pages took pains at Venice to obtain particulars respecting the History of the Council of Trent. The original MS. is in the writing of Sarpi's amanuensis Franzano, and on the first page of the MS. is written by Fra Paolo Sarpi " *L'Historia dell Concilio Tridentino, scritta da Pietro Soave Polano.*" The other words " *L'Historia dell Con-*

cilio Tridentino," either head the other books which are in all eight, or are on the margin also written by Fra Paolo as are the corrections throughout. This is worthy of notice, as it has been alleged that the original MS. was written by Sarpi, in place of being dictated by him and the corrections made by others. The reverse is the fact, as is attested on the MS. by the Secretary Fontano.¹ But to any one who has examined the MS., it is evident that every word must have been read by Sarpi, or to him, from the many and minute corrections by his own hand. It is in good preservation, bound by four leather thongs and parchment cover, and consists of one thousand and eighty three pages, closely and finely written, and carefully pointed. Paolo Sarpi did not publish his own work. It has been observed that this MS. was borrowed from him by the Archbishop de Dominis; who it is believed had it copied, carried to England and published in London without Sarpi's knowledge, with a dedication to the King of Great Britain by de Dominis. This dedication gave him great pain; many, as Sarpi wrote were the defects of the Church of Rome he never could hear it spoken against without regret, and although his own language against the Court of Rome was very strong, still the unprejudiced have always pronounced the History of the Council of Trent as did the learned Sir Roger Twysden, "to be written with so great moderation learning and wisdome, as might deserve a place amongst the exactest pieces of ecclesiastic story any age hath produced."

In Italy, many of her scholars, and they are not few, assured the writer, "that none but the most profoundly ignorant hold any opinion but that of admiration for the works of Fra Paolo Sarpi, and for his efforts to reform the Romish Church."

No one can reasonably affirm that this History was written in haste, who is acquainted with the difficulty of research, and with the toil and perseverance necessary to collect, collate, and embody materials for any work. Fra Paolo's aim was truth, and he did not shrink from the laborious search after it in writing and compiling his History, and he had the peculiar advantage, as we have seen, of personal acquaintance with many who had attended the Council, and who were in possession of many memorials which no one else ever saw.

It is to be regretted that the work of Fra Buonfiglio Capra perished by fire; he had collected with great assiduity authentic references to all the authorities consulted by Sarpi in the History of the Council of Trent, and it is a well known fact that the materials for that work were in the Quirini Library.

¹ Deputato alla Ccanceleria Segreta, 16 Feb. 1772, and by Bettio Librarian. MSS. Italiani de la Marciana, Classe v, N° 25.

/ Besides these, there are the journal of Chiergato, Nuncio of Adrian VI; the Acts of the Legation of the Cardinal Gaspar Contarini at Ratisbon; some of the letters of the Cardinal del Monte, President of the Council of Trent under Paul III; those of Viscomti, agent of Pius IV; the Memoirs of the Cardinal Amulio; the despatches of the Venetian Ambassador at the Council; the greater part of those of the French Ambassador, collected by the friends of Fra Paolo, M. Groslet, De Thou, and others. To these may be added, the Relazione, letters and speeches of the prelates at Trent; the History of the Council, by Milledonne; the Acts of Massarelli; the papers containing the votes of the prelates and theologians during the sessions of the Council; the Memorials of the Spanish ambassador Vergos; the Conciliary Acts of Salmio, Bishop of Verdun; the MSS. of the Cardinal Borromeo; and many other MSS. relating to the latter years of the Council, examined by Griselinus 1785, in the Collection of the Senator Gradenigo. Sarpi had also access to the libraries of the Vatican, of Padua, of Milan, of Mantua, and of Venice; and the rare Collections of books and MSS. of the Grimani, Contarini, Donati, Manutii, and of the monastic bodies were at his disposal.

At Rome, Sarpi's work was prohibited, some say before it was published.¹ If it was so, it must have been in consequence of the information that Paul V had received from the friars who wished to poison Sarpi, and who were told to procure leaves of his writings, but this is of little consequence. It is probable that Sarpi never intended to publish his work, and that he referred to its publication after his death when he said he would do more against those who sought his life, dead than living. Fulganzio's remarks on the History are interesting. It was more read than any ecclesiastical History that is known. "The idea prevailed, and it was published in Rome as an undoubted fact, that he (Fra Paolo Sarpi) was the Author of the History of the Council of Trent, in eight Books, printed in the Italian language in London, and which was afterwards translated into all the most common languages of Europe, an argument, that this is no ordinary work. And it might be, that at Rome they had also taken it as a proof that F. Paolo was its author, that for a long term of years, the Father spared no pains, either through friendship or cost, to obtain information concerning the celebration of this Council, not only in Italy, but abroad. And at the time when he had free intercourse with the Princes, he was most intimate with the Ambassadors of France, Monsieur de Fresnes, de Mes, and Du Ferrier, and particularly the latter, who attended the said Council. No judgment can be given on his writings, unless it be done with the discretion of a skilful artizan, who by one

¹ Index Lib. Prob. Gregory XVI, Romæ, 1841. Decr. 22 Nov. 1619.

claw, knows the size of the Lion, and who could, as history relates, by the measure of one finger comprehend the proportions of the Colossus of Rhodes."

But it is to be feared that few have the discretion of the skilful artisan of whom Fulgenzio speaks, and while some have said that the History is the most noble in any language, others have pronounced it but a lengthened satire.

It was not an easy task to write without satire of a Council unlawfully constituted, and entirely under the guidance of the Popes, their Legates and adherents. There is much pungent satire in the work, yet the style is dignified and agreeable, not redundant yet strictly correct, and evidently that of a master. But to praise a work so long held in high esteem is as presumptuous as to criticise it. "I would rather," said a scholar of no mean degree, "have been the Author of the History of the Council of Trent than of any book I know."

Curiosity was much excited to discover who wrote a History which was received by scholars with enthusiasm. Although he never said so, Sarpi was at once pronounced to have written it, and the liberal minded of the Church of Rome ever regarded its author with admiration. It is a mistake with respect to the work to speak of Sarpi as a partizan. These comments of Gibbon and d'Alembert ought sufficiently to negative the imputation. "Since the origin of theological factions, Arminius Marcellinus, Fra Paolo, Thuanas, Hume, and perhaps a few others, have deserved the singular praise of holding the balance with a steady and equal hand. Independent and unconnected, they contemplated with the same indifference the opinions and interests of contending parties, or, if they were seriously attached to a particular system, they were armed with a firm and moderate temper which enabled them to suppress their affection and to sacrifice their interest," and "Fra Paolo is perhaps the only monk who has risen above monastic prejudice, who saw and judged the interests of society with the extensive survey of a philosopher, and the nobility of a man of birth."/

He had the wisdom to point out to his countrymen what they are now beginning to believe, that the temporal power of the Pope was the great prop of the abuses of the Church of Rome, and as this, together with his protest against the doctrines of the Jesuits, was what throughout life he insisted upon, he takes pains to show in the History of the Council of Trent, by what means their false theology was inserted into its decrees.

This is seen in Father Salmeron's proceedings with regard to the sacrifice of the Mass,¹ as well as his known approval of the English Liturgy

¹ Appendix.

and confessions of the Reformed Churches. And it is probable that Sarpi's approval of opposition to Salmeron's opinions, was what drew upon him the charge of Bossuet, "Sous un froc il cachoit un coeur Calviniste, et il travailloit sourdement à descrediter la Messe, qu'il disoit tous les jours."

It is hoped that sufficient has been said in this biography to prove that Sarpi had written much of his great work in early life. His History of the Council has been preserved that his countrymen may read for themselves, and judge how one and another nation sent their prelates to Trent to obtain the restoration of ancient doctrines and rites, and saw them return obliged to conform to the pleasure of the Pope and his Legates, who often were made to receive against their will what was contrary to their conscience. It was in vain that in many of the Sessions of Trent the Scriptures were cited as the rule of faith, they were not received as of sufficient authority alone, unless the dogma or article of faith was supported by tradition or long use, and therefore it is not marvellous that Sarpi dissented from some of the decrees of the Council.

It has been observed that he wished a free Council to be assembled at the time of the Interdict, he well knew that some would have sought to exclude the Jesuits from it, and then he and Fra Fulgenzio and some of the seven might perhaps have seen the Holy Scriptures, the prohibited book, unchained and open to all, and might have heard again the eloquent Fulgenzio preaching the Gospel of Christ, as he had done before he was hindered by the Nuncio.

Sarpi longed for freedom, he knew and felt one of the noblest sayings ever embodied in words, that "he is the freeman whom the truth makes free and all are slaves besides," and to him the truth was dear. He had laid hold of it with the full grasp of his intellect, but he felt that it needed a still more powerful lever to raise his heart heavenwards, and he ever spoke and wrote of that divine grace, which had unbarred to him the gates of heaven, with a devotion which was as humble as it was sincere; he could look beyond the superstitions of an overcharged ritual, and pray for the time when all would perceive that Heaven requires not merely acts of devotion but the service of the heart. Throughout life we have seen that he looked for a reformation of the visible church, a return to its ancient usages, and that although he was disappointed at the issue of the disputes with Pope Paul V, he was too wise not to know that he had given a stimulus to those who came after ~~him~~ to shun atheism as repugnant to human nature,⁴ and to persevere in the struggle for reformation.

If then a friar, so surrounded with superstition as Sarpi was, could long

⁴ "L'ateismo repugna alla natura humana," MS. Sarpi.

to break through the trammels with which the Church of Rome was surrounded, why again we ask should not his successors do the same? Let but one of the clergy arise, let him but follow the example given him; let the voice of controversy be mute, but let the voice of entreaty be strong; let him in the full vigor of powerful intellect, but with words shorn of all personality, with that charity which is as faithful as enduring, with that generosity which never triumphs over another, and with all that holy zeal which will nerve him to the noble task, let him dwell on the benefits of the death of the Saviour, and thousands will listen now, as they did when the Servite told out to crowds that the sacrifice offered on Calvary was as complete as infinite.

As the History of the Council of Trent by Pallavicino was not published for more than thirty years after that by Sarpi, any notice of its criticisms lies beyond our province.¹ All are familiar with Voltaire's ridicule of Pallavicino's remarks. Perhaps his foes past, present and future cannot be better answered than by the moderate pen of Mr. Zouch.

" We have already had occasion to mention this venerable Ecclesiastic. It was said of Father Paul that he not only knew more than other men, but that he knew better, and that he seemed to have wisdom by habit.

¹ " Attempts have recently been made by some modern writers amongst the high Catholics, as they are denominated, to depreciate the fame, and invalidate the authority of this great man. These attempts are vain. His works will be held in veneration long after the names of his adversaries are sunk in oblivion. "

We must now attend to the alliance between the Venetians and the faithful Hollanders which was formed this year; it was probably advised by Sarpi, and it gave him great pleasure. The diplomacy of the seventeenth century was such as to perplex honest men, and an honest ambassador could ill discharge his duty; still there were such men, and none knew better than the Venetians how to appreciate them, of which Sarpi gives many proofs.²

Again the subject was mooted, whether a power which acknowledged the Pope could employ soldiers professing the Reformed religion. On this question Fra Paolo supplied the Senate with a lucid reply in the affirmative.

It is needless to enter further on the history of Europe of this date

¹ Istoria del Concilio di Trento, scritta dal P. S. Pallavicino, della Compagnia di Gesu. Roma, MDCLVI. Marciana.

² Nor is that feeling yet dead in Venetia, as eyewitnesses of the recent reception of the Ambassador from a great northern power can tell, when S. Mark's palace resounded with a spontaneous tribute to talent and worth. 1866.

than to remark that intolerance again burst forth, and that the hills and dales of the Valteline reechoed with the cry of the wretched inhabitants; their mountains formed no shelter for them, and like the apostolic, good, and learned Church of the Valdesi, many were pursued and slain. The Papists amongst the Grisons were resolved to free themselves from the government of the Reformed, and while Fra Paolo, was still looking for reformation in the Church to enter from the Grisons, he had the sorrow to behold the papal party triumphant, and to learn that the Grisons were subdued or slain in the frightful contest. After a reign of nearly sixteen years Paul V died, and was succeeded by Alessandro di Bologna, who took the name of Gregory XV. By the address of his nephew the papal party prevailed in France, Italy and Austria, where the Sovereign had once been willing and auxious for the restitution of the rights of the early Church.

This had an indirect influence upon Venice, and Fra Paolo beheld his country settle down into comparative carelessness and indifference as to the abuses of the Romish Church. Those who really felt anxiety on the subject were not of sufficient number to have weight in the Senate; fear of offending Rome was again paralyzing freedom.

Had Paolo Sarpi then effected nothing? Had the long, weary, and arduous life which he had led, all the persecution he had suffered, all the brilliant hopes he had formed for his country, been as the down of the thistle on the bosom of the blast?

No! Seek deeper into the page of history, search longer in the archives of his country, rend the veil from volumes which are not his, give them back to their writers, but let the fame of Sarpi shine forth in all the lustre that his integrity deserves.¹ No one can deny but that by Sarpi's means the reign of Paul V had been productive of good to Italy. Italy has never since been so blind to her political interests and her patient suffering was one day to be rewarded. The impress of the seal of the pontificate was to be effaced, if gradually yet surely, from the land, the Papacy received a blow from the resistance of Sarpi to Paul V, from which it has never recovered; no bull of excommunication ever reached Venetia in after days; rulers and subjects were forced to believe that the power of the Pope, and what he termed the rights of the Church were wrongfully usurped, and some gave credit to the opinions of Sarpi that the Pope was neither Supreme Pontiff, nor infallible ruler of the Church, but merely Bishop of Rome and liable to err, as did St. Peter and all men.

Sarpi enjoyed his high reputation for learning till the end of his

¹ Appendix.

life, and when permitted, he sometimes received people of distinction. "Many princes honored him with letters, and one royal personage, on sending his son to Italy, told him that he must not fail to visit the '*Orbis terræ oculus.*'" He had however little time for visitors, especially as he now had a new charge. The Nuncios had caused disquiet by many infractions on existing laws, they were the medium of the demands of the Auditor of the papal chamber, which Fra Paolo thought were often as unlawful as superstitious, and he therefore proposed that a scrutiny of all laws should be made by a canonist appointed for the purpose. The Senate immediately appointed Paolo, who discharged this duty till his death, when a counsellor, called "Theologian for the revision of Papal Bulls," succeeded him. The Nuncios were thus deprived of some power, as they had been in the habit of yielding entirely to the interests of the Court of Rome. These duties, however, increased the burden of labor which Paolo had to perform, and was induced to undertake from conscientious motives, not from gain, for as through life, so now in old age, he was indifferent to wealth.

papa
bulls

"His latter years were spent very monotonously, owing to his being almost a prisoner except when the public service or his profession required him to go abroad. His food was a little bread toasted on coals, to escape ill intent, and having no relation but a very old cousin, he had nothing to wish for his family. In him ambition was wholly dead, and now he was content that any one rather than himself, should enjoy the merit of any of his scientific discoveries."

"Such was his fidelity in the public service, that the prince honored him in a manner which had never been done before; he had free access to the two secret archives, and free permission to examine all the writings of the State as also of the government.

"His memory was so extraordinary, that he could immediately put his hand on any MS. he wished to examine, and as these Archives contained public documents of laws, treaties of peace and war, truces, confederations, negotiations, with all the despatches for centuries past from all parts of the world, in old volumes which it was difficult to decipher, this was no easy matter.

"There could be no greater proof of the entire confidence of the Government in the integrity of Sarpi, than the permission thus given to him to examine and arrange its most secret Archives. It was a work of interest but very arduous, and his health suffered from it, for on Easter day, when in his accustomed place in the Segreta, he was suddenly seized with cold as if he had been frozen, accompanied by hoarseness and numbness. He had never had any catarrh before, but from this and ague he now suffered

severely for three months, yet he never changed his way of life, or relaxed his laborious occupation, a diminution of his strength was apparent, and he often said that he never was well after this illness."

There was little to cheer him from Rome, the power of the Jesuits being very great there, in consequence of the countenance they received from the Pope and his nephew. They soon gave trouble to Venice, but Fra Paolo counselled the Senate not to give way. The Jesuits wished to be reinstated in a Greek College which they had once possessed, but he plainly told the government that if they were established there the sons of ignorant people would be educated in the maxims of a society inimical to it. This remonstrance was not likely to please the Curia; but Paolo did not consult his own interest; he was well aware of the opinion which the new Pope held of his being the Counsellor of the Republic, as on his accession, Gregory XV said, "that there never would be a perfect peace between the Apostolic see and Venetia, except such an one as Fra Paolo Sarpi chose." On this Fra Paolo not only determined to relinquish the public service, but to quit the States of Venice. He was in declining years; but on many accounts it would have been a sacrifice if he had left his country. The King of Great Britain had not been able to prevail upon him to leave it, and the State certainly would not have permitted him to do so. He had however resolved to go to the Levant, Constantinople, or elsewhere, and had obtained information from travellers, particularly from a Jew who had often made the journey; he even provided himself with a passport, and had every thing ready to meet any adverse fortune, and was determined to depart, rather than that his prince or country should receive any ill, although he was sure that the Senate would rather have gone to war on his account than withdraw their protection. It was not however so to be, and Sarpi was to suffer neither from the threatened malevolence of the Pope Gregory, or of his successor, Urban VIII. Ere the latter had ascended the pontifical throne, Fra Paolo Sarpi was beyond the reach of wrong.

It was unlikely that the publication of so remarkable a work as his History of the Council of the Church would not be productive of great opposition by the Papal Nuncios and other adherents of the Curia, one instance of this may suffice, and again the attack came from one who had forsaken the reformed religion.

The Prince de Condé, immediately on the appearance of Fra Paolo's History of the Council of Trent, had made enquiries concerning it of the Venetian ambassador at Paris, who had informed the good Servite, and this appears to have influenced him in not wishing to meet the Prince when he came to Venice. It was in vain that he excused him-

self, the Prince insisted so peremptorily, that the Senate gave orders that he was to be received. A meeting without the walls of the Convent was appointed, at the house of the afore-mentioned ambassador who was lately returned from Paris. The conversation was taken down, and a more desultory one has seldom been heard; the Prince endeavoring to discover Sarpi's opinions, but he left the Prior to answer for him in general terms as to the mass and as to his being a foe of the Jesuits, but it is apparent that the Prince knew that he did not agree with him, he then questioned Sarpi on the religious sects, on the Reformed Church of France, the superiority of the Council over the Pope, the liberty of the Gallican Church, whether it was lawful to employ men at arms of different religions, the excommunication of Princes, but above all, *who was the author of the History of the Council of Trent.*

" The Prince blamed the Huguenots, without even touching upon the most trivial points of their doctrine, the Father dexterously diverted him from this topic, by alluding to the valor and prudence of his father and grandfather; as to the Pope and Councils and their relative superiority, he put the Prince in mind of the Sorbonne and the change and degeneracy of France since the admission of the Jesuits, and the difference between the old and modern Sorbonnist, without touching on the point of superiority, as the Father wished to have done. And as to the liberty of the Gallican Church, the Father passed it over in general terms, saying that the Parliament of France and the Sorbonne had maintained these liberties as the natural right of all Churches, but that in France they had been better defended than elsewhere. As to the employment of soldiers of different opinions in religion, he only observed that Julius II had employed the Turks at Bologna, and Paul III the Grisons in Rome, whom he called angels sent by God to defend him, and yet they were heretics. They then discoursed diffusely on the excommunication of Princes, and the Father obliged the Prince to speak of Gregory VII, and made him confess that he had seen many public and private documents by which it appears, that if the Pope had not made such pretensions as to forbid princes to be present at mass, and other services of the Church, controversies would not have attained such a height; but the chief point was as to excommunication, whether princes under it had cause of complaint, as excommunication was only a spiritual sentence; whether they should be exposed to the rebellion of their subjects, and to the plots of those who watched for their lives or sought to deprive them of their crowns.

" As to the Father being the author of the History of the Council of Trent, he told the Prince that it was he who had divulged this in France, and had said as much to the Venetian Ambassador then resi-

dent at the Court of the Most Christian King, so that the Ambassador was obliged to write to the State, and he only answered further, that at Rome it was well known who was the author, and with all his turnings and windings the Prince could get nothing more out of him.

¶ Such was the celebrated conversation of the Prince of Condé with Sarpi, and such the admirable way in which he parried the attacks of the Prince. On no occasion did he ever avow that he was the author of the History of the Council. ¶

We have the account of the above from Fulgenzio, who was present and who describes the Father as a rock against which the waves dashed harmlessly. There is a longer account of these interviews signed by Fra Paolo to the Senate.¹ Now let us notice the last work which Fra Paolo is known to have written, the MS. is intitled, Notes on the Popes. He spoke well of Paul V; the Pontiff was dead, and Sarpi veiled his failings. There was also amongst his MSS. a chronological list of illustrious persons in the handwriting of Franzano, divided into twelve small columns, beginning 2021 B.C. and ending A.D. 1622, with notes by Sarpi.

Plots against his life were now less frequent, but it was not unusual for Sarpi's enemies to charge him with hypocrisy. It is a vast but easily broken web which the envious weave over the good. And the Cardinal Sforza, who appears to have done so but only for amusement, used to call Fra Paolo a hypocrite, on purpose that he might hear Fra Amante defend him. This he did, as well as Asselineau, in conversation with M. Villiers, who plainly told the Nuncios, that Fra Paolo took an unusual method from that of hypocrites, who only appeared outwardly pious, but that he never made any outward show but lived in the strictest retirement. That no one had ever seen him do a hypocritical action, such as telling his beads when he went through the streets, kissing medals, speaking with pretended spirituality, or clothing himself sordidly, that he was cleanly in his attire which although poor was becoming, and this was the touchstone, he did not aspire to rank nor honor, he did not care for money, or to receive anything from any body, and he was not austere, but gentle and agreeable to all, and that he had always heard every one speak in commendation of his great virtue and strict integrity, but that he would be glad to hear from the Nuncio what grounds he had for believing the contrary that he might know what to credit. The Nuncio was suddenly surprised by this question, and wishing to extricate himself from his dilemma, blamed the life and actions of the Father, but here he was foiled, because, on the Ambassador again pressing him to say in what, and if he called it hypocrisy that he never flattered the Court, nor sought

¹ Arch. Ven.

ecclesiastical dignities, nor fled retirement, nor wore long rosaries, nor told his beads, nor was seen at stations in the Churches, nor wore bad clothing, the Nuncio offered no reply."

"Similar conversations passed at the different Courts after the commotions in Spain, between the Ambassador Contarini and the King of France, and with the Nuncio Ubaldini, who censured the Father's writings with great severity.

"(Angelo) Contarini on the other hand, a man of singular candor, suavity, and gentle nature, of strong understanding and therefore not contentious, answered him that he could not argue with his Lordship, as he was neither a theologian nor a jurisconsult, but that as to the Father's writings, he was certain that they were neither so void of learning nor so impious as the Nuncio said they were, which was evident by the learned and scientific professors who commended them, but that as to his life and manners he was positive, not only from hearsay but from his own knowledge, that they were both irreprehensible, and the Ambassador concluded by repeating that he led a holy, retired, and exemplary life. To which the Nuncio answered, that it was on account of his irreprehensible life that he believed him to be a bad man and a hypocrite."

"Such," exclaims Fulgenzio, "was the comparison of these prelates of the Roman Court with the doctrines of Christ and his Holy Apostles, who taught us to know faith by their works, and the tree by its fruit!" And after an enumeration of Fra Paolo's life-long virtues, his friend concludes thus, "and if these be the signs whereby Christ has taught us to know hypocrites, let it be referred to the judgment of others, for neither God nor man will permit the innocent to be so unfortunate as that those tyrants who had power over their lives, should also have power over their fame and memory. The righteous is like the palm tree which rises above the weight of calumny, and God never willed that tyrants should have power over them."¹

Without pausing long on the death of Foscarini, who was well known to Fra Paolo, we need only notice that his letter, with a bequest to the good Servite to pray for his soul, was refused by him.² Fra Paolo did not believe in purgatory, of this there are many proofs besides Pallavicino's remarks. Nor did he wish to accept money from an enemy of the state; but it is only justice to Foscarini to add, that he was declared innocent, which was entered on the records of the Council of Ten, where the writer of these pages saw it.³

¹ MS.

² Letter to the Signory. F. P. S., 28th April 1622.

³ Registro 39. Criminale, Con X, 1622, Giugno 16: "Fu dichiarato innocente."

Sarpi never recovered from the illness from which he had suffered in his sixty ninth year, "but with his usual resolution he bore up as well as he could, till he entered on his seventy first year; it was then evident that his great soul was about to dislodge.

"It was impossible to keep him warm, and he had such an entire loss of appetite that it was impossible to procure any food for him that he did not dislike, he was surprised at his want of self-command. He masticated with difficulty, bent double, and walked with great weariness to his gondola, or up stairs. He slept but little, and his dreams were no longer unintelligible and incongruous, but distinct, natural, speculative, and as he was very observant of everything, he told his friends, that this showed a gentle rising of the soul from the body."¹

Notwithstanding all these demonstrations of declining health, Sarpi did not give up his studies or his work at the Ducal palace, and when Marco Trevisano, whose freedom of speech and truth were much liked by the Father, would often reprove him for his intemperate love of study and toil, as if he were insensible to approaching age, he heard him speak with pleasure, but he went on as before. On several occasions his strength seemed to fail him, and he was obliged, in walking through the Merceria, to lean on the arm of Fra Marco. He did not conceal his illness, he showed that he expected death, but spoke of it as freely and cheerfully as if it had been a matter of indifference, a debt to nature, a long rest after a weary day's journey."

He was often heard to repeat, besides ejaculatory prayers, many passages from the Holy Scriptures, and he frequently said, "Nunc dimittis servum tuum Domine etc." "Now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, for mine eyes have seen thy salvation." To his familiar friend he would say, "Ah! we are near the end of the day." On one occasion when they were occupied with the affairs of the province and spoke of the nomination of a Prior, he said "I shall not be here."²

The following minute particulars of his last illness are given by Fra Fulgenzio. "On Christmas day, the festival of the Nativity of our Lord, when we saluted him with the usual compliments, 'Ad multos annos, Sancte Pater,' he immediately answered, 'that this year would be his last' and he spoke so seriously, that it was evident that he did so with greater earnestness than he usually spoke of the brevity of life. There can be no doubt but that he felt very ill, because in general he made no change when he had fever; but on the Epiphany "³

¹ MS.

² MS.

³ January 6.

his illness increased, and at his return from the palace, where he had been summoned three times, he was worse. During the two following days he could neither eat nor sleep, but he would not remain in bed. On Sunday he rose, celebrated mass and dined in the refectory. After dinner, Signor Sechini came to see him, and remained with him for some time, he told the Padre that he thought he was very ill, he confessed he was, and that he was obliged to lie down upon a chest in his clothes with a coverlet over him. He continued much the same till the following Friday, occupying himself as usual in reading and writing, and when outstretched upon his chest, and too weak to do it himself, others read to him. On Monday morning, having dressed himself, he was suddenly seized by a complete prostration of strength both in his hands and feet; he could not stand without support, and could not move his hands without tremor; this was followed by such a loathing of food that it required all his resolution even to try to take any. His faculties were unimpaired; his tranquillity and cheerfulness never forsook him, and till the day on which he died he comforted those around him by cheerful remarks saying. 'I have consoled you as long as I could, and now I can do so no more, it is your part to cheer me.' The physicians supposed his disorder to be epilepsy, some suspected poison, but there were no signs of either, it was rather a decay of nature.

"On Wednesday, he wished to leave his room, as if eager to meet all his old companions in the refectory once more, he went to dinner, but, as it was at some distance from his rooms besides the stairs, he was obliged to be supported thither, trembling all over. Nevertheless, he received every visitor, conversed as usual, said nothing of his illness except to his doctor and that very briefly but to his friend and physician Asselineau he spoke of his state without any reserve, begging him not to tell Fra Fulgenzio because it would grieve him, but he knew that the Padre's last hours were near.

"On Thursday morning,¹ he sent for the Prior, and begged him to commend him to the prayers of the Fathers, and when service was finished that he would be pleased to administer the holy communion to him, and added that he had lived in the poverty of the Order, having nothing of his own; that all which had been granted to him according to the rules of the Order, remained in his rooms. The Padre then gave the small key of a cupboard to the Prior in which was the remainder of his salary from the Serene Republic. This cupboard, and another where he kept state papers, were the only ones which he kept

locked. He dressed himself as usual, and spent all the morning in listening to Fra Fulgenzio and Fra Marco, who by turns read the Psalms, the narrations of the Holy Evangelists, and the Passion of Christ to him; he made them pause at intervals while he remained in devout meditation, but such was his languor that his efforts to kneel were wholly ineffectual. As soon as the service in church was concluded, at the sound of a small bell, the Prior and all the friars with torches in their hands brought the most Holy Sacrament to him as he lay on his bed dressed in his usual habit. He partook of it with that devotion which was to be expected from one who was so sincere, it drew tears from the eyes of all present, and the remarkable example of one so well prepared to pass to a blessed life was deeply impressed on all.

He did not wish any one to watch him during the night; he always had said it was ostentatious, that it incommoded others without doing him any good, that it disturbed him as he thought he disturbed others, and that he could not suffer another to lose his rest for him. He would not permit Fulgenzio to remain with him, and rose and dressed himself the following morning. He had always scrupulously attended to all the rules of the Convent; he would not take broth or meat or any other food but that usual in Lent, and when eating his dinner he turned playfully to the cook saying, "Fra Cosmo do you treat your friends thus, to make them break fast days?" It was not superstition, but a firm and acquired habit to observe whatever was ordered even to the minutia in things not essential. In the evening, three attendants remained with him, but although he required to have some one to give him restoratives, he helped himself, remaining perfectly quiet, and was only heard sometimes to ejaculate, "O God!"

On Saturday, the only day he remained in bed, he was in great weakness of body but in full vigor of mind. The most Serene Prince and the most excellent Senate sent for Fra Fulgenzio to question him as to the state of the Padre's health. The mournful answer was, that he believed his life was drawing fast to a close, and that his case was hopeless. The most excellent Signor Ottavino Buono wished to know what was the state of his mind. Fulgenzio answered, that although in great bodily weakness, his judgment and memory were the same as they had ever been when he, Maestro Paolo, served his Serenity and the Senate for seventeen years, and had counselled them in their greatest difficulties. The same day he received visitors; and when the Most excellent Signor Bassadonna came in, the Padre took off his cap and thanked him for his visit; when he was gone, he heard reading for a considerable time with great attention. There were then three question regarding matters of grave importance submitted to him. Fra Paolo, two hours before midnight, wrote an an-

swer and sent it to the college, and the same evening it was read in the Senate and his advice followed.

Night coming on, and weakness increasing, the Passion of our Saviour was read to him from the gospel of John. He spoke of his own sins and of his strong confidence in the blood of Christ, and often repeated, " *Quem propositus Deus mediatorem per fidem in sanguine suo,* " from which he seemed to receive great consolation; he repeated, though with great faintness various passages from St Paul, protesting " that he had nothing to present, to God but misery and sins, yet nevertheless he desired to be plunged in the abyss of divine mercy, " and this he expressed with so much submission and yet so much cheerfulness, that all present wept. His strength totally failing, he received extreme unction, and about three o'clock was again visited by those physicians who had seen him shortly before. But as he had not been previously visited by Tebaldi, the Padre told Fra Fulgenzio to give him an account of his illness. And on his having told this physician of his failure of strength on the previous Monday, the Padre raised his head and exclaimed, " Failure of mind ? "

" No Padre " said he, " strength of body, for as for your mind it has always retained its constancy; " but on the physician wishing to give him some slight hope of life Fulgenzio, who knew how little the Padre regarded either to live or to die, said, " the Father is not one to whom you need speak either with disguise or ceremony. Tell him that he has been a patient sufferer. " To this the Father gave signs of assent. The Doctor then said that his pulse told that life was passing away, that it would close that night, and in a few hours. On hearing this the Father's countenance was overspread by a happy smile, and he said. " Blessed be God, whatever pleaseth Him pleaseth me, and with His aid we shall rightly perform this last act. " On the physicians wishing him to take some restorative he said, " Let us now forget these trifles, but will you Signor explain two things of which I am in doubt. First, I feel certain and am fully persuaded that whatever you give me is very good, and certain of this I take it, but whenever I taste it, it seems as if my brain was changed and as if it became horrid and abominable. The second is " and here his breath failed him, and his physician seeing that life was ebbing away ordered some cordial, and at eight o'clock some rare muscat that he would send him. This he took about six o'clock, saying " This appears to me to be very strong. "

He continued to speak to those around him many memorable words, and repeated passages of the Holy Scriptures with great devotion, often saying, " Now let us go where God calls us. " His attendants, seeing that his voice began to fail, begged him to take a little rest, at which he smiled. Eight o'clock struck, upon which he called for Fra Cosmo and said " It is eight o'clock, give me what the physician ordered. " But he could only take

a small portion of it. He then called *Fra Fulgenzio* to him, and commanded him to leave him with these memorable words which are graven for ever on his heart, " Now stay no longer to see me in this state, it is not needful; go to your rest, and I will go to God whence we came," and he desired *Fulgenzio* to kiss him. And although *Fulgenzio* knew well how much such an example of constancy would support and strengthen his own mind, he left him, not indeed that he wished to leave him, but to obey his commands, which were to ask all the Fathers to pray for him. So he called the Prior and the other friars to come around his bed, and in their prayers to commend his soul to God. He could no longer speak, but with his eyes, and by signs he shewed that he retained his senses to his latest breath.

" His death was accompanied by two remarkable circumstances. By a last effort, for his mind was totally absorbed in God, he crossed his hands, then fixing his eyes on the crucifix before him, he looked on it for a short time, then looked downwards, and shutting his eyes, with a smile breathed his soul into the hands of God."

Such was the end of this illustrious man, and it pleased the divine Disposer of all events that witness of it was given by a public document upon oath subscribed by the whole College of the Reverend Fathers of the *Servi* who were present.

" Most Serene Prince, God has called his faithful servant and my beloved M. P. Paul from the labours of this world to the repose of Paradise, and I, who would have given my life to be the ambassador of the intelligence of his convalescence to your Serenity, am now but the herald of his death, a death to me most mournful, and the severest blow I have ever experienced, but to him fraught with happiness, as crowning all the actions of his life.

" Living, he was ever to us all, and to all the Order of the *Servi*, a model of the sublimest virtues that can adorn the Christian, and dying, he eminently exhibited that faith and perfect resignation to God's will, that every true servant of Christ should possess.

" My mind is so confused and oppressed with grief, that I can ill describe his last actions, all admirable for their true piety. This I will say that his was a most happy death, because he obtained that to which his thoughts, labors and studies were all directed, to die in the service of your Serenity.

" And if it be true, as is generally admitted, that death unmasks life (because in all human actions, either through art or interest, some disimulation or fraud may be mingled, but death removes all falsehood and shows every one as he is), happy was my dear master who in two circumstances of his death exhibited the image of his life, and a most perfect portrait of that piety which is commanded by the Holy Spirit of God, *Honora Deum et Principem*. His soul was firmly fixed on God (besides his

having consigned all that he had for his own use into the hands of the Prior), he asked and received the Holy Sacraments with great devotion, confession with his Ordinary Spiritual Father, and the most Holy Eucharist from the Prior, with the attendance of all the Chapter, and extreme unction from the hands of his amanuensis, Fra Marco. The last words he said to me, in a low voice, and with the greatest devotion, after he recited his brief and usual prayers, and having kissed me and exhorted me to go to repose, were these, " Go to rest, and I will return to God whence we came." With these last words his lips were closed in eternal silence. The zeal he evinced in your Serenity's service may be learned from the fact that in all his illness only one uncollected sentence escaped his lips. " Let us go to Saint Mark's, for I have more than ordinary business to do." Thus, so intent was he on the service of your Serenity, that when he could no longer control his speech, by force of habit he thus expressed himself.

" I ought not to omit his last act. The Prior with all the Fathers joined in the most affecting prayers, amidst floods of unfeigned tears, and after having remained for a long time with his hands immovable, he crossed them on his breast and fixing his eyes on a crucifix that stood opposite to him, he closed his lips with a smile, and looking downwards gave up his Spirit to God.

" I have wished, by these few particulars which happened in the presence of so many Fathers, to give this brief but confused account of the last hours of your faithful and loyal servant, believing it to be my duty to do so, in order that if it pleases you to direct any thing concerning his funeral before we make any arrangement, on letting us know your commands they may be properly executed. "

Grazie, etc.

The Doge immediately commanded a magnificent funeral at the public expense, which the Prior acknowledged thus:

" Your Serenity having deigned with your usual piety and munificence to aid our sacristy with alms for the funeral of your deceased servant, the Fathers all united to celebrate his funeral with such demonstrations as were in their power. The four monastic Orders, the Dominicans, Franciscans, Eremitani,¹ and Carmelites, all immediately responded to the invitation, about two hundred monks, besides those of the two monasteries,² amidst the acclamations and tears of a concourse of people who had come to witness the funeral of a holy man, gifted with the rarest intellect.

¹ Reformed Franciscans.

² Of the Servi.

" One may consider it as a holy impulse, that all thus wished to honor the earthly remains of this holy man who had been received into heaven.

" These last ceremonies having been performed publicly, before such a multitude, to the honor of God and to the consolation of your Serenity, of whom he was the servant, I have wished to give you these particulars, and they will be confirmed by all the Fathers of the Convent and signed by their own hand. "

Grazie.

Io Frat'AMANTE DA BRESCIA, *Priore nel Convento dei Servi.*

Io Frate BENEDETTO FERRO.

Io Fra AGOSTINO, affermo quanto si contiene in detta scrittura.

Io Fra FULGENTIO.

Io Fr~~a~~ GIOVANNI DA VENETIA.

Io Fra SEBASTIANO DA VENETIA.

Io Fra RAFAELO DA VERONA.

Io Fra AMBROGIO CIGNANI DA VENETIA.

Io Fr~~a~~ GREGORIO PRIUL DA VENETIA.

Io Fra GUGLIELMO DA VENETIA.

Io Fra GIOVANNI FRANCESCO *segurta*, DA VENETIA.

Io Fra GUGLIELMO DA VENETIA.

Io Fra GIOSEFF DA VENETIA.

Io Fra VALENTINO DA VENETIA, *Vicario di Monastero.*

Io Fra MARCO DA VENETIA.

Io Fra PIETRO DA VENETIA, *Socio della Provincia.*

Io Fra BASILIO DA VENETIA, *Sacrestano.*

Io Fra FULGENTIO DA VENETIA, *Sindaco e Procuratore del*

Toto Monastero.

Io Fra PIETRO D'UDINE.

Io Fra PIETRO DI ROVADO.

Io Fra ZOSSIMO DA VENETIA.

Mournful as was the sight, still the Venetians were permitted to look once more on him they revered. It was the custom in Italy to carry the dead to the grave with the face uncovered; and as few hours had intervened between the death and burial of Fra Paolo Sarpi, little change had taken place on the countenance, it was still overspread by a smile, still fresh in color, and finer even in death than in life.¹ Nobles, citizens, and people attended his funeral, and wept their

¹ MS.

common loss; although seventy one years of age, his intellect was still so vigorous, that the Doge and Senate regarded the death of Sarpi as one of the heaviest clouds that could overcast the political horizon.

To many of the nobles he was a genial companion and adviser; while those of the youthful patricians who could find access to him, prized his society. The citizens not only loved him, but were proud that he was one of them; the people venerated him, and had they been permitted, would have superstitiously honored him after death; he was ever the friend of the poor.

In spite of all this, the document from the Superior of the Convent to the Doge was necessary to refute the falsehoods which were spread, that Paolo Sarpi "died with frightful howlings and cries at sight of apparitions; and that dreadful noises were heard in his cell." The same fables had been told when the pious Doge Leonardo Donato died,¹ and probably the disbelief of Fra Paolo in the doctrine of purgatory incited some to spread a report that his soul was thus in torment, in and after death. But as Fra Paolo had written of the great and good Doge Leonardo Donato, "He is in glory;" so might Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio write of "his beloved Master."

The reader will not linger on whatever of superstition dimmed the dying cell of the great Fra Paolo Sarpi; it was not that he had taken the habit of a friar, it was not that he loved and served his country, it was not that he had died in the communion of the Church of Rome that enabled him to meet death with a smile; it was, as he had often said, by the grace of God. He had nothing to present before God except sin, but he trusted solely to the blood of the Immaculate One. If a pure and holy life, a life of self-denial could have gained heaven, the life of Fra Paolo Sarpi would have done so; but while he strove to fulfil the command of heaven to be perfect, he freely confessed he was not. He laid all his genius, all his learning, his life, his all, at the foot of the cross of Christ, content to be nothing. It was not that he did not value human wisdom, but that he valued the wisdom of heaven more, and however unintelligible to some were his remonstrances against superstition, he persevered in his search after and defence of the truth. He had found the mighty truths of religion in the pages of the Holy Scriptures, and he believed and said that he served the highest and eternal interests of his countrymen by remaining in communion with the Church of Rome in the hope of reform, if not in his time, by those who would come after him. By faith in the Redeemer he saw that the crust of scholastic obscurity, superstition,

¹ Appendix.

love of money, and wordly distinction prevailed more than any desire to make known the gospel, and like the great Cardinal Pole, Contarini, and many other members of the Church of Rome, he was glad when he could present the simple tidings that the Saviour had died to open the kingdom of heaven to all believers, to his fellow mortals. A clear view of the particular reforms which Sarpi desired in the Church cannot be obtained without a careful perusal of his whole works, and few have time to undertake the task. His approval of the Liturgy of the book of common prayer shewed what he thought of the mass and that he did not believe in transubstantiation, he believed that the sacrament ought to be given in both kinds. In the course of this biography his opinions with regard to faith in the Saviour, the worship of the Virgin Mary and of the saints, indulgences, confession, the temporal power and the infallibility of the Pope, cannot have escaped notice. If they were only shadowed forth, it was not because Sarpi did not distinctly agree in many of the fundamental truths of religion that he did not join the Reformed. He was willing to suffer, that future ages should benefit by what he left to them, a warning that he hoped would ring the knell of all that would rob the Monarch of the Universe of that honor due only to Deity, a warning which echoed through Europe, a warning which yet vibrates, although ages have passed since the eloquence of Sarpi riveted the hearts of dying men on the Saviour, as He alone who died to save all who call upon him.

He has been blamed by some for not following the steps of the German reformer; but Sarpi had not, as the great German had, the support of his prince.

His letters and the evidence afforded by some of his contemporaries testify that Sarpi wished a greater separation from the Court of Rome, but above all the fall of the temporal power of the Pope. And there can be no doubt, that as soon as the present monarch of Italy gives sanction to still greater reform within the Church of Rome, this will follow. The liberality of the policy of the illustrious Victor Emmanuel is too well known to need any comment here. For whatever Sarpi advocated he made direct appeal to the Scriptures, and the reader will remember his quotation of the remark of Paul V on the sermons of Fra Fulgenzio Micanzio. Let it be borne in mind, that Sarpi felt that he could not conscientiously leave the Church of Rome; he believed and said, that with all her defects, she was like the Church of Corinth, a Church of Christ, and although he took the part of the Reformed, corresponded with them, welcomed them to his cell, and showed them many acts of friendship, yet in some instances he thought them too vehement. It has been seen that by some of the church of Rome he

was called an atheist, because he refused to believe in many of the superadded dogmas and superstitions of his own, and former times; but it has been shown that an atheist was the only member of a community whom he declared unworthy of tolerance; he was too wise not to know that atheism is but a signal of distress torn to fragments on the top-mast of a vessel without weight or ballast, which ventures to cross the rough waves of time, without a rudder or without a compass.

As Sarpi went to and fro to the Ducal palace, and oftentimes to the Ducal chapel (now St. Mark's Cathedral), at the hours of prayer, his eyes must have rested on these words over the entrance: "Ego sum illud ostium, per me si quis introierit servabitur." S. Johan x, 9. "Ego sum via illa, et illa veritas, et vita illa. Nemo venit ad Patrem nisi per me" S. Johan xiv, 6. "I am the door: by me if any man enter in, he shall be saved." S. John. x, 9. "I am the way, the truth, and the life: no man cometh unto the Father but by me." S. John. xiv, 6. This it was, as has been seen, which amidst all the dark storms of life was the stay of his soul, and when the hour came that Fra Paolo Sarpi was to leave the world, and the finite was to stand before the Infinite, he could not regret that he had entered heaven by the only entrance through which the countless number of the redeemed enter, to go out no more. So long as he was permitted, he had with all the powers of eloquence of which he was master, pointed to the cross of Christ, and when he could no longer do so, when his voice was mute in death, his countrymen remembered then, and their posterity remembers now, that in that cross he triumphed.

Notice of the death of Fra Paolo Sarpi was immediately sent by the Doge and Senate to all the Venetian Ambassadors who were resident at the various courts of Europe, in order that their Excellencies might communicate the irreparable loss which the Republic had sustained to the Sovereigns and Princes of these States. The following is a translation of that sent:

"To the Ambassador at Rome.

"It has pleased God to call Father Paolo to himself, one endeared to us by his noble qualities, and he having in all times and seasons shown the greatest fidelity, virtue and devotion in our cause, we feel that deep sorrow which the loss of one so endeared merits. He was not only adorned with every excellence, as evinced in all his actions, but in his last illness he consigned all that was given to him for his use into the hands of the Prior; and surrounded by all the Chapter gave up his Spirit to God, to the edification of all the friars who were present, who prayed with him

with much affection and many tears. A great number of the four religious Orders of mendicant friars, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Carmelites attended his funeral; and a large concourse of people from all parts of the city who spontaneously wished to accompany it.

"We, from the esteem which the Republic has always borne to him, and on account of the important services he has at all times rendered, together with the Senate, wish to give you this information.

" in Pregadi,

" 1622, 21st January."

The following is from the pen of the Patrician Veniero.

PAVLUS VENETUS SERVITARUM
 Ordinis Theologus,
 Ita Prudens, Integer, Sapiens,
 Ut Majorem nec Humanorum
 Nec Divinorum Scientiam,
 Nec Integriorem nec Sanctiorem
 Vitam Desiderares
 Intelligentia Per Cuncta Permeante,
 Sapientia Affectibus Dominante
 Præditus,
 Nulla Unquam Cupiditate Commotus,
 Nulla Animi Ægritudine Turbatus,
 Semper Constans, Moderatus, Perfectus,
 Verum Innocentiae Exemplar,
 Deo, Mira Pietate, Religione,
 Continentia Addictus:
 Tantis Virtutibus
 Reipublicæ In Sui Desiderium,
 Concitate Justum, Fidelem Operam
 Navans:
 (Religiosum Hominem, Dum Patriæ servit, Haud a Deo
 Separari (Existimans¹))
 Summo Consilio, Rationis vi Libera
 Integra Mente Publicam Causam
 Defendens,

¹ The date in Venetian Style, delib. 1622. Senato di Venezia, (Archives of Venice).

Magnas a Libertate Veneta
 Insidias Sua Sapientia
 Repellens;
 Majus Libertatis Præsidium In Se
 Quam in Arcibus, Exercitibus
 Positum,
 Venetis Ostendens;
 Mortales
 An Magis Amandus, Mirandus,
 Venerandus,
 Dubios Faciens;
 De Nominis Apud Probos
 Æternitate,
 De Anini Apud Deum
 Immortalitate
 Securus;
 Morbum Negligens,
 Mortem Contemnens,
 Loquens Docens, Orans,
 Contemplans,
 Vivorum Actiones Exercens.
 LXXI ÆTATIS Anno
 Magno Honorum Ploratu
 Non Obiit, Abiit e Vita, ad Vitam
 Evolavit.

JO. ANT. VENERIO, Pat. Ven.¹

The Senate by decree commanded the noble Lando to arrange all the writings of Fra Paolo Sarpi which had any reference to the State, a catalogue was made of them by Agostino Dolce, and they were carefully deposited in the Archives of Venice, where they now are, twenty nine volumes (folio) in all.

But there were some who were jealous of the honors paid to Sarpi; they were annoyed at his public funeral, and certain disturbances were complained of as having taken place at the Convent of the Servi. The Senate instantly interposed, and a decree was issued taking the Convent under the special care of the State; at Rome it was soon shewn that, although dead, Sarpi was still to be maligned, and the Pope Gregory deemed it his prerogative to declaim against his memory.

¹ MS. Studii di Foscarini, Mariana.

Gregory XV died shortly after Sarpi, and was succeeded by Barberini, Urban VIII, who with the Court did their utmost to vilify his name. But they might as well have attempted to blot out the sun, as the memory of Sarpi from the hearts of the good and the free, or his name from its high place in the world of letters.

It is difficult to conceive more poignant grief or indignation than that which stirred the heart of Fra Fulgenzio when he wrote the concluding page of the life of Sarpi. It was not enough that he mourned him as his teacher, his friend, his counsellor, and his companion; he had to bewail the narrow-minded bigotry which denied his countrymen the gratification of erecting a monument to the memory of Paolo Sarpi. Fulgenzio "was the first to wish to raise some memorial to him, but the Convent would not permit him, wishing that it should be done by the public. The Senate interposed, and commanded by a public decree that a memorial bearing an inscription should be raised to Fra Paolo, but the monument which Girolamo Campagna was desired to execute was stopped by government, although the sculptor had furnished a design of the work." The Court of Rome was still triumphant; intolerance with broad step came forth to endeavour to fill up the gap between the time of his death, and the end of time! In the same palace where Fra Paolo had toiled early and late for his country, a voice from Rome counselled the Senators not to raise any monument to his name, "for a time; but," concluded the speaker, "since the Pope does not wish him to live in stone, he shall live in our annals with less risk of his memory being consumed by the greedy hand of time."

But notwithstanding the efforts to make his name forgotten, notwithstanding the pains taken to publish abroad that there was no portrait of him, he was not, he is not forgotten. We have said the lamentation for his death was great throughout Venetia, and his personal friends, not content with portraits of their living friend, employed painters and sculptors to delineate his features after death. Of these, there is one which appears to have transmitted to our times somewhat of that radiant smile which overspread his features when the light of heaven was breaking upon his last moments. These few words, in Italian, surround the portrait: "We shall never again see another Fra Paolo;" also, "Quid spectas! Dulcem credis dormire soporem. Paulum haud falleris, hic dormit ut in Domino. Le R. P. Paul Sarpi pretre Docteur Theologie Religieuse de l'Ordre de Servites nacquit a Venise le 14 Aout 1553, et mourut le 7 de Juillet (Janvier) 1623." X

But if no place was found within or without the Senate for a public

¹ Bib. Imp. Paris.

X and on another portrait,
Non si verra mai un Fra Paolo -

monument to Fra Paolo Sarpi, his friends, nobles, citizens, and people only cherished his memory the more. Their indignation was greatly excited, that malice still pursued him to his grave; in consequence of attempts to do injury to his remains, and to prevent the recurrence of such acts, his body was hidden. It had been interred at some distance from the usual burial place within the walls of the Convent of the Servi, but it was removed in order to be concealed, nine months after its first interment; on opening the coffin, the body was found entire and the face still of a flesh color. With what an earnest gaze would Fra Fulgenzio look on that well known visage, ere it was again lost to his sight for ever! It seems as if we heard the stealthy footstep, the slow-drawn breath, the almost silent whisper as some of his chosen friends bore him to his new-made grave.

In silence and in profound secrecy, they hid the remains of him whom they dared not mourn, and they added yet this seal to inviolable friendship, that they secured the precious deposit till one hundred years had passed away, and till the fierce storms of persecution and prejudice had subsided into calm.

The writer has often had occasion to note the nobility of character of the Venetians; they felt gratitude to Paolo Sarpi, and many were deeply grieved that in their time no deserved eulogium of him could be graven on stone, no column of marble raised to his memory, no statue of the individual who had so long perilled his life in the service of his country be seen among the adornments of their beautiful city.

The Republic of Venice was insensible to the great injury she inflicted upon herself by having forbidden the elevation of a public monument to Sarpi, she did not reflect that the non-recognition of his great services to the State was apparently a tacit disapproval of his opinions, and a marked declension from that independent action towards the Court of Rome which Sarpi had been so desirous that she should cultivate, it was more, it was a step in that gradual but downward course which Venetia and the other States of Italy then trod, when afraid of a self constituted power, they complied with the unjust and lawless requirements of the Pope, and the non-erection of a monument was a triumph to that party within the Senate who were enemies to liberty of conscience, who even after the death of Sarpi continued to be his foes; but it was also a triumph to the Jesuits, who now looked on their return to Venice as certain. He was dead, but his words lived on; Fra Fulgenzio did not forget them, and never during his long life and term of office as theologian and counsellor to the Republic were the Jesuits readmitted there. But they did return, and persevere till the glory of Venice had

set, but not for ever. No! her brave hearted people are now as free as Fra Paolo desired, free, because partakers of that freedom which is the birthright of every man, and which makes him value Christian liberty the more, free to follow the religion of Fra Paolo without convent walls; and they shall be freer still.

The body of Fra Paolo remained hidden and undisturbed until the year 1722, when the altar d'Addolorata in the Church of the Servi was repaired. It was raised for the third time, and carefully reburied in the same grave; there it reposed till the year 1742; when the altar was rebuilt, and then the remains were again disinterred, but again restored to the same place with an epigraph in lead. Amidst all the political tempests which burst over Venice, amidst the voice of cannon which levelled even churches to the ground, the grave of Sarpi was un molested, undesecrated, unknown; the Venetian and the stranger trod unconsciously over his tomb. At length, in the year 1828, when the chapel and altar of the Addolorata were demolished and sold, the bones of Fra Paolo Sarpi were sought for, discovered and disinterred for the fifth time, in the presence of the Count Morosini, the noble Podestà of Venice, the Cavaliere Cicogna, the Signor Ruggieri and many others, besides the Rector and vice rector; the epigraph which had been laid in the grave in the year 1742 was found, and was replaced together with the bones of the great Venetian with much care in a chest lined with lead, which being sealed, was consigned to the Marciana till the Government assigned a place of interment.

The entombment was on the 15th of November 1828, and an eyewitness of the ceremony writes, "that Sarpi whose name is worldwide had at length found honorable burial in a grave on which the citizens of Venice as well as strangers can look."¹

The following is on a mural tablet of white marble, on the outer wall of the church of the Servi, near the ruins of the great door. It was placed there on the removal of the bones of Fra Paolo Sarpi to the Church of S. Michele di Murano.

P. SARPIVS Th. R. P. VEN.
 HIC VBI SERVOR AEDES
 SVRGEBAT, ~~■■■■■~~ CONDITVS
 AD D. MICH. DI MVRIANO
 TRANSLATVS EST DEC. PVB.

MDcccxlviii.

¹ The Cavaliere Cicogna. Inscriz. Ven.

It is, however, painful to relate that in the year 1846, in an unknown hour, the tomb was disturbed, and the stone, bearing the same inscription as now, was forcibly taken away. But if it was intended to make Paolo Sarpi forgotten, the attempt signally failed, as the government commanded an investigation of the matter. The chest had not been touched, the hidden stone was restored to its place, as also the defaced inscription.

The small island of S. Michael di Murano was visited with great interest. It lies about a mile to the north of the city of Venice; the site of the church near the rocky shore is beautiful, and the cloisters and grounds of the monastery, adjoining which was the Franciscan, are now the cemetery of Venice. Close to the door of the Ambulaco lie the remains of Fra Paolo Sarpi, with the following inscription on the tomb.



N O T E S

INTRODUCTION — page 1.

The autograph "Life" differs in many respects from the printed "Life." Fulgenzio's M. S., has a preface of which the following is a translation.

"It was not my intention to write the life of the Rev. M. Paul of the Order of the Servi in Venice, except in a very brief and concise form, with the view of prefixing it to some of his moral sayings or maxims, and to arrange them in order under proper heads when I had leisure to collect them from among his papers, where they are found written down as they occurred to his mind, as rules of conduct.

I should not have been moved from my purpose by the earnest entreaties which have been made to me, not only by the friars of the Order but by many different parties, even by persons in high place, all entreating me to give them without delay this greatly desired boon. Although it is highly to the interest of the Order, in which he of whom I speak served God for sixty one years, of the country which gave birth to so excellent a man, of the Prince for whom he labored for seventeen years with matchless faith and with no unfruitful results, and of the age in which we live (which by the singular example of so great a man repels the charge that has been made against it, of being unproductive of heroic virtues), that the memory of one so pious and so virtuous should be preserved, I deemed it unnecessary to undertake such a task, believing that his own works were sufficient to perpetuate his glorious memory. But, since envy and malignity, which usually end with death even in the bitterest enemies, still cruelly pursue his venerable remains, and have stimulated the same unjust fury against the dead which pursued the living with poniards, poison and treacherous devices, that only failed of their effect through the singular and admirable intervention of Divine Providence, on this account I have withdrawn my determination, and I come forward to declare to the world that it is most unreasonable that innocence is thus cruelly persecuted. I will write the life of a man who merits a pen far superior to mine.

"The things I have to relate are so well known and have the concurrent testimony of so many hundreds of monks still living, and so

many senators and nobles of this illustrious city, that whosoever shall venture to deny them will encounter the opposition of a cloud of living witnesses and of the very facts themselves."

"Vita di Fra Paolo Sarpi. Manoscritto autografo di Fra Fulgenzio successore di lui nella carica di consultatore della Repub. Veneta; without, and entitled:

"Vita del Padre Paolo Sarpi dell' Ordine dei Servi, Teologo della Serenissima Republica di Venezia, Archives of Venice." No date, but Fulgenzio notes, "Contarini now Most Serene Prince of Venetia." Throughout this work Fulgenzio's vita di Sarpi, is cited thus MS.

The life of F. P. Sarpi by Fulgenzio published anonymously 1646, has two clasped hands and *Aeternitas* on the title page. It was republished 1658. Labus had a letter of Fulgenzio to Galileo in which he speaks of the work as his, and Sir Roger Twysden endeavored to prevail on him to dispose of it, but Fulgenzio would not part with it. There are some particulars respecting this, and other notes on Sarpi's works in the *Archæologia Cantiana* from Sir R. T.'s papers for which I am indebted to Mr. Rye of the British Museum.

Fulgenzio died 7th Feb. 1554, aged 83, and the inscription on his tomb gracefully alluded to him as the *Sol Fulgens* and *Syodus Micans*.

INTRODUCTION — page vi.

Auberi C. Acquapendente. Arrighetti. Asselineau. Alhazen. S. Augustinus. Arnulphus. Bellarmine. Baronius. Bizar. Bouhours. Bentivoglio. De Burigny. Bonnani. Bossuet. Birch. Bergantini. Blount. Boethius. Bovio. Bossuet. Bunsen. Contarini. Cotton. Cicogna. Canaye. Caracciola Colomie. Cornet. Crasso. Cardella. Castellani. Canale. Davila. De Thou. De Dominis. Donne. Do- nato. Dandolo. Dupin. Foscarini. Filian. Filosi. Fontanini Gia- nius. Garbij. Gualdo. Guissano. Gillot. Guettée. Gilbert. Golat. Gibbon. Gratiani. Gianotti. Giustiniani. Helyot. Haller. Harriot. Harris. Houssaye. Herbert. Johnstone. Knolles. Llloyd. Langier. Lobeira. Lebret. Micanzio. Marsand. Maffei Manutius. Mazu- chelli. Maurocenus. Magrini. Montanus. Muratori. Mexia. Mer- may. Montfaucon. Nani. Niceron. Nelli. D' Ossat. Orlandinus. Du Plessis. Paruta. Pallavicino. Pole. Raynaldus. Richer. Ri- badeneira. Rainal. Rohrbacher. Sansovino. Sismondi. Salfi. Strype. St. Prêt. Scaliger. Scooten. Simon. Sprengel. Twysden. Todd. Valentinus. Vossius. Viete. Vignola. Vertot. Wotton. Welwood. Winwood. Zannetti.

CHAPTER II. — page 8.

In one edition of F.P.'s Latin letters, we read, *Dicebantur Laudesi primum quod in laudibus B. M. V.*

The words in Italics were probably supplied, as it is questioned if the Servi ever were of the *Laudesi*. *Gianus* says so, but not *Fra Paolo*.

CHAPTER III. — page 35.

1. Chronology.
2. Philosophy, law, government, ambassadors, the Uscochi, Avisi and Mem. of the Valteline Council of Trent. MSS. of Greek Oratory, Latin History, and Legal, and political maxims of government. Squitino, Aviso, Affairs of the Republic. Spaniards and Grisons, Venetia and its government, a book of Donato's. Relazione Riesca, de Thou's assertions.
3. Register of F.P.S's faults.
4. Meteorology and *L'arte di ben pensare*, Franzano.
5. "Pensieri," MS. on the rainbow, reflection, geometry, spots on the moon, optics, etc. Schedæ Sarpiæ the Interdict. Problems. Solutions de Natura Deorum.
6. Small books memoranda, written by F. Paolo, 1611-12, in one dated 4th September 1612, he notes the transmission of the dispatch sent to the Senate by the Venetian Ambassador in Rome, in which he gives notes of the orders of the Jesuit Passevin to assassinate Sarpi in 1607, "which" adds Griselini "I verified by a comparison with the copy of the same despatch as communicated to me by the Sig. Con Wrachien in 1779."

Del Genio di F. Paolo. App. 179.

CHAPTER V. — page 73.

In Sarpi's time the prohibited list was some columns in length. The Index, Gregory XVI, is 422 pages!

CHAPTER VII. — page 121.

"M. Abain to M. de Villeroy,

"Sir, I lost the last opportunity of writing to you that I might now avail myself of the delay of the couriers.

"The affair of the Venetians is the only topic which occupies the attention of this court, in alarm on account of war, but of which there is more fear than probability.

"The Pope has shown great satisfaction on the receipt of the letters and offers of the King of Spain, so that there is a marked diminution of displeasure in his countenance. He speaks of preserving the letter in the archives of the church, but those who know the state of affairs of the King of Spain in Italy, and who (by the suspension of the payment of pensions which he grants) judge of his majesty's hopes of a fleet, believe that this letter will obtain a levy from the Pope, which will render agreement with the Venetians more difficult, and that they will attribute to the fear of the Spanish, the resolute conduct which they have maintained until now, notwithstanding the interposition of the king.

"Throughout this matter they recognize the Duke (Doge) of Venice,

because so enraged is he against this Court that they think he must have formerly received some great cause of discontent, and that he has concealed his displeasure till now, in order to revenge himself. I well know that — came as an ambassador — —, but I have heard no particulars. All the towns and provinces of the States of the Church have offered the Pope to do their utmost. Rome is limited to a million of gold; the Marches of Ancona to fifty thousand loads of corn. His Holiness receives this as good will, without altogether accepting their offers; and two days since, having called Frederic Ghislieri, a tried soldier and relation of Pope Pius V. he represented to him that he was only anxious on account of two places, viz. Ferrara, where Paul Savello commanded, and in whom he placed trust, and the citadel of Ancona, where he had established him governor, with commission to raise six hundred foot to guard the frontiers of the Romagna. This discourse has confirmed the news which has lately been noised abroad, of the exchange of Ferrara with some state in the kingdom of Naples, which report, however, was soon dispelled or silenced. The Ambassador of the Grand Duke is much astonished that at the last audience the Cardinal Borghese did not speak to him of this letter from Spain, believing that they do not trust his master, who has always made offers, as well as the other princes, amongst whom the Duke of Modena who had not been behind hand, a short time since excused himself to the Pope, on account of some troops having crossed his dominions to enter the Venetian service, saying that he was ignorant of their intention.

"The Cardinal Bellarmine writes in Italian, by command of the Pope, on this affair of the Venetians, and the Cardinal Baronius answers the letters published by the Duke and Signory of Venice against the Interdict, and defends them by examples of the obedient piety of our kings, Charlemagne and Lothaire, as I have seen by his book, of which he read a part to me, and told me he was sure that the ambassador would take it ill, that he had given this work to the Pope (who had seen it, and only wished that it should be printed when all hopes of accommodation were at an end), but I showed him that his affection for the king was so well known that he ought not to fear its being accounted strange, that a Cardinal in his position wrote in favour of the church; of this I informed the ambassador.

"Every one has his pen in hand on this subject: 'The temporal jurisdiction of the Pope.' And even ten days since, Thomas Bovius, an author who is celebrated for having published many books, showed me a treatise which he will publish immediately, in which he holds opinions contrary to those advanced by the Cardinal Bellarmine in this controversy, touching the temporal power of the Pope, but the said Cardinal will explain his opinion at greater length in the book which he is at present writing. They say that the swordman of the Cardinal Aldobrandini, has been killed at Ravenna, and that the Chevalier Clement has been wounded, for having wished to exert authority, which they formerly held there. The said Cardinal will at last resolve to buy the principality of Berignan for his nephews, and thus to employ the money which he has at Naples, which they will not permit him to draw from Naples unless thus disposed of. This day, at

an early hour, the Ambassador of Savoy had an extraordinary audience of the Pope, and of the Cardinal Borghese.

"I have not learned what passed in the Chamber of Audience, but it is supposed that it was on the affair which is here deemed the most important, and thus I must finish, praying God to preserve you in good health and long life.

"Ever your very humble servant,

"ABAIN."

"At Rome, 10th July, 1606.

CHAPTER VII — page 136.

Un nez dont l'épine est large, qu'il soit droit ou courbé, annonce toujours des facultés supérieures jamais je n'y ai été trompé, mais cette forme est très rare. Vous pouvez parcourir dix mille visages dans la nature, et mille portraits d'hommes célèbres sans le retrouver une seule fois, elle reparait cependant de plus au moins dans les portraits de Fauste Socin, de Swift, de César Borgia, de Clepseker, d'Antoine Pagi, de Jean Charles d'Enkenberg, (personnage fameux par sa prodigieuse force de corps) de PAUL SARPI, de Pierre de Medicis, de François Carrache de Cossini, de Lucas de Leyde, de Titien."

Spina dorsum nasi 163. du nez.

Lavater. L'art de connaitre les hommes par la physiognomie Tom. vi p. 60 &c.

PORTRAITS OF PAOLO SARPI

That by Carpioni, apparently between 60 and years of age, is much esteemed.

That by Carletti Caliari is at Verona — one in the Uffizi.

Sir Roger Twysden's was till lately in the possession of his descendants. Dr. Donne bequeathed to the Bishop of Chichester the portrait of F. Paolo as well as Fulgenzio, "as of his acquaintance both men of great note for their remarkable learning."

There is a engraving of F. Paolo in the British Museum, and several in the Bib. Imp. Paris.

A sketch when young.

One after Tinelli, by Lucas.

That after Zuccherio Dickenson.

A medallion engraving was presented to me by the Abbé Valentelli, from a cameo formerly possessed by the Noble Molino, the work of Becellio, a scholar of Sansovino, then enriched with precious stones but now in the Marciana, without gold or gems.

There in an engraving of Fra Paolo at the Archives.

There is a fine bust of Fra Paolo Sarpi in the gallery of the Ducal palace.

CHAPTER VIII. — page 156.

SENTENZA DELL' ECCELSO CONSIGLIO
DEI X ETC.

10th of October, 1607.

Sentence of the Most Excellent the Council of Ten against Ridolfo Poma, P. Michel Viti, Alessandro Parasio, Giovanni, Pasquale de Bitonto. etc., etc.,

It is decreed on this 10th day of October, 1607, in the Council of Ten, that Ridolfo Poma, Father Michel Vita (usually officiating in the Church of the Holy Trinity), Alessandro Parasio of Ancona, Giovanni of Florence, son of Paulo, a man of ordinary height, with arched eyes and red beard, formerly in the company of the Governor Bartolomeo Nieno, Vicentino, appointed to the vessels bound to Soria and Alexandria, a deserter from the said company; Pasquale, of Bitonto, 32 years of age, of ordinary stature, corpulent, with black hair and black beard, who formerly served in the company of Giovanni Troglione, of Ancona, and of Padua. And it is proclaimed, in pursuance of the deliberations of this Council, that (these persons) being absent and contumacious, viz., the said Ridolfo, Father Michel, and Alessandro, having been engaged in an atrocious conspiracy, and most nefariously planned and contrived by them for a long period (the more detestable and impious, because against the person of a member of a religious order), and they, having employed the abovementioned Giovanni and Pasquale, and kept them during many days on the watch with intent to commit this deed; and who (assisted and supported by the other three, and armed with stilettoes and short arquebuses, detestable arms, and expressly forbidden by our laws),¹ did deliberately and treacherously on Friday, the fifth day of the present month, about the twenty-third hour, assault the Father M. Paul Servite, Theologian of our Signory, a person of great worth, and of exemplary life who with his lay brother Fra Marino, was descending the bridge of Santa Fosca to go to his convent, with intent to murder him, giving him three violent thrusts with their stilettoes, whereby he received three dangerous wounds, in the face, and in the neck; one assailant taking the lay brother by the arms, and holding him fast, that he should not give him any aid, moreover, discharging their arquebuses against the people, whom this strange and horrible event had drawn to the place, and having betaken themselves to flight, leaving the stiletto in one of the wounds, and having by means of gondolas joined the others, they repaired to a ten-oared pilot boat awaiting for them on the Lido, by which they hastily passed into foreign parts, and made their escape after the perpetration of this execrable sacrilege committed against the

¹ No one in Venice might carry fire-arms; strangers might carry their swords only.

peace and safety of a wellgoverned city, wherein all, even aliens, have always found a sure refuge and abode.

Therefore, the above-mentioned Ridolfo, Father Michel, and Alessandro, are banished for ever from this city, from the Venetian territory, and from all other cities, lands, and places of our dominion, and from our fleet, armed or disarmed.

Any one of these on crossing our boundaries shall be brought into this city, and placed in a flat boat upon a raised scaffolding, with an official, who shall publish his crime both by sea and land, and he shall be brought to the bridge of Santa Fosca, where his right hand shall be cut off, and separated from the arm, by the executioner, and with the same tied to his neck, he shall be led by land at the tail of a horse, "between the two columns," of Saint Mark, where, upon a raised scaffolding, his head shall be cut off, and separated from his body, so that he die, and his body shall be divided into four quarters, to be hung up on gibbets in the usual places.¹

Whosoever shall take, or shall deliver up to justice, or who shall kill in any place the aforesaid Ridolfo Poma, and proper evidence of his death having been given, shall receive four thousand ducats from his property, if any such there be, which shall all (both that which belongs to him, and that of which he shall at any time become possessed), be confiscated, and liable to payment of the same forfeiture; if not, out of the money in the Treasury of this Council appointed for rewards, which four thousand ducats shall be immediately counted out, and paid down to the captors, or to those who kill him, or to their attorneys, or deputies, if they have dealings through such, and likewise to their heirs, if there be any. And if his capture or death be effected in any city or place of our dominions, the aforesaid reward² shall be paid to him by the nearest Chancery³ in any kind of money, and in the manner above declared.

And there is granted to him, besides the said reward, the power to obtain the release of a person who has been banished by this Council, or with authority therefrom, even though there be in his sentence, a specified time of exile.⁴

Whosoever shall take, or shall kill the said Poma in any place, out of our dominions, shall receive in the manner before declared, four thousand ducats as a reward, and the release of two persons banished by this Council, or with authority therefrom, though there be....⁵

Whosoever shall take, or shall kill in any place within our dominions, the afore-mentioned Father Michel, or Alessandro, proper evidence of his death having been given, there shall be given to him for each of them two thousand ducats, in the manner above declared, and moreover, obtain the release of one person banished by this Council, or with authority therefrom, whatever may have been the condition of banishment as to time. And if he take or slay them out of our dominions,

¹ Usual place of execution of criminals on the Piazzetta S. Mark's.

² The price set on the head of any one.

³ Where the public monies were kept.

⁴ Stretezze de balotte.

⁵ Idem.

besides the reward of two thousand ducats, as aforesaid, he shall obtain the release of two persons banished by this Council.

The aforesaid indulgences are granted by this Council, and that notwithstanding any general decree as to banishment, or any special decree to the contrary. And by no power either now existing, or that ever can exist, whether in virtue of banishment, or by means or warnings, or denunciations, or any matter concerning the affairs of state, still less by the capture or death of any other banished party equal or superior to himself, can either of these three ever be released from the present decree, or can any pardon be given him of suspension, compensation, remission, mitigation, or any imaginable diminution of the present sentence, neither by way of second hearing, nor of safe conduct by the request of any prince, or for their gratification, nor by any other public or private cause whatsoever, unless brought forward by all the councillors &c. &c., and votes taken with their nine balls, and afterwards with all the balls of the Council, restricted to the perfect number of seventeen, and in no other manner, and the *processe fermato* shall first be read throughout to the said Council, which processe cannot be removed from the coffer where it shall be placed, except by vote taken by the balls of the Council from the five urns—the present sentence being first read, together with the crime and the accusation of the aforesaid persons. But if Father Michel Vita, or Alessandro Parrasio, or either of them shall kill Ridolfo Poma in any place whatsoever, proper evidence of the slaughter having been given, they shall obtain their own full release, it being, however, understood that the aforesaid Ridolfo is for ever excluded from such benefit, who cannot in any manner, even by the capture or the slaughter of his two companions, or of any others included in the present sentence procure his own release, or receive the least mitigation of penalty.

If any subject of ours, whatever be his state and condition, without any exception, even though he be connected with either of the aforesaid three, in whatever degree of affinity or kindred, shall give them any aid, either in this state or elsewhere, or shall write to them, or give them information, or shall hold any kind of intelligence with them, he shall incur the penalty of confiscation of all his goods of every description, and shall be closely imprisoned for ten years; and if absent, he shall be banished for the like time from all lands and places within our territory, and the information given by the informer against these criminals shall not only be kept secret, but he shall receive five hundred ducats from the treasury of this Council.

Giovanni of Florence, and Pasquale of Bitonto, aforesigned; are and shall be held as banished for ever from this city, from the Venetian territory, and from all other cities, lands and places of our dominions and fleets, armed or disarmed. Any one of them passing the boundaries of the state, and being taken, shall be brought into this city, and placed in a flat boat, in which, upon a raised scaffolding, with an official, who shall proclaim his crime by sea and by land; he shall be brought to the bridge of Santa Fosca, where his right hand shall be cut off and separated from the arm by the minister of justice, with the same tied to his neck, he shall be led by land at the tail of a horse to between the two columns of St. Mark, where upon a raised

scaffolding his head shall be cut off, and separated from his body, so that he die, and his body shall be divided into four parts to be hung upon the usual gibbets, with a reward to whosoever shall take either of them within our confines, of a thousand ducats of the money of the treasury of this Council, appointed for reward, and the release of one person banished by this Council, or with authority therefrom, unless there be votes, &c. &c.; and whosoever shall kill either of them in any place of foreign jurisdiction shall receive fifteen hundred ducats after the manner above declared, and moreover, the release of two banished persons of the same kind and description granted to those who shall take them within our confines. Neither can any one of them by any power now existing or hereafter to exist, be released from the present sentence, neither by means of warning or denunciations, nor can any favour or remission be accorded to them by way of safe conduct, or of second hearing; unless the cause be brought forward by all the councillors, &c. &c., and taken first with their nine balls, and afterwards with the whole seventeen of the Council restricted to their perfect number. But if they shall kill Ridolfo Poma in any place whatsoever, or shall deliver him alive into our power, they shall receive their own full release, and moreover the rewards promised and declared above to those who shall kill the afore-mentioned Ridolfo, to be granted them in the manner before declared.”¹

It has been stated that during his illness Sarpi remarked to Acquapendente that the wounds had been given him in Stilo Romanæ Curiae, when he examined the stiletto which was drawn from the wound in his face at the convent. This remark is not in the MS.

CHAPTER IX.

For note to page 176 see note to page 188.

CHAPTER IX. — page 186.

Margin of the MS. of the Friar.

“ Si persuade Fra Antonio c'è si levi da Fra Paolo.

Fra Antonio è invitato a Padova a passarvi otto giorni per ricreazione.

Si avvisa Roma di quanto si è trattato con Fra Antonio e delle Scritture che lui aveva in camera.

Si mandano li fogli a Roma.

~~* Fra Antonio in Padova.~~

Quel tanto che si tratta da Fra Antonio.

Lettere mostrate a Fra Antonio per darli animo.

Fra Antonio si offerisce da sè di voler dare il veleno a Mro. Paolo.

Fra Antonio scrive di voler dare il veleno a tre mentre Fra Gio Francesco è a Mattutino.

Fra Antonio scrive di voler levar tutte le scritture a Mro. Paolo.

¹ The assassins all died by violence.

Fra Antonio scrive un'altra lettera perchè la prima parlava troppo in aperto modo del veleno.

Lettera prima per miracolo da Dio posta nelle mani di Fra Gio Francesco.

Risposta di Roma, e uso fatto del veleno.

Scrive Fra Antonio che se li mandino denari a Padova.

Pensiero di far pigliare l'impronta della chiave della camera di Fra Paolo.

Si ragiona da Fra Antonio in materia delle scritture, e se ci è di pigliare l'impronta della chiave.

Fra Antonio dice ora di voler dare dei fogli per effettuare il tradimento.

Fra Gio Francesco preso e legato, e posto in carcere.

Fra Gio Francesco posto in una sepoltura di vivi come per un morto solo.

Fra Gio Francesco costituito la prima volta.

Fra Gio Francesco alla presenza de' tre inquisitori di Stato legato. ”

CHAPTER IX. — page 188.

This letter is dated, 1st May, 1608:

“ About that time, also, there came a Jesuite to Venice, called Thomas Maria Caraffa (an. 1608),¹ and printed a thousand theses of Philosophy and Divinity, and dedicated them with a blasphemous title thus :

‘ PAVLO V, VICE DEO, Christianæ Reipublicæ invictissimo et Pontificæ omni potentia conservatori acerimo.’

“ The which when D. B. had seen with amazement, he retired into his study, and by just calculation found out that it contayned exactly, in the numerall letters of that proud-looking title, the number 666 Apoc. 17 and 18, (550 5 1100 00), so that he that runs may read it in PAVLO v, VICE DEO. He showed it to the Lord Ambassador, to P. P., and to the seven Divines, who immediately layd hold upon it, as if it had been by divine revelation from heaven, and acquainted the Prince and the Senate with it. It was carried suddenly through the city that this was Antichrist, and that needed not look for another. It was published and preached through all their territories, and the Romanists were ashamed and confounded at it, and knew not what to doe, lest this discovery should proceed further.

“ But the Pope causeth a proclamation to be made, and to be sent unto all his Vassals and Tenants, the Popish Princes of Christendom, to let them know that Antichrist was borne in Babilon of the tribe of Dan, and was coming with a huge army to waste and destroy all opposers, and therefore they should arm themselves speedily, and make ready all their forces by sea and land, and so this ended.

CHAPTER IX. — page 190.

It is plain the government of the church in its beginning was entirely democratical, all the faithful having a share in all deliberations

¹ 1607-8.

of moment. Thus we find them all assisting at the election of Matthias to the Apostleship and of the seven Deacons: and when S. Peter had received the Centurion Cornelius, who was a Gentile, into the number of believers, he gave, an account of it to the whole church. Thus the famous Council of Jerusalem was composed of the priests and other brethren in the faith; and the letters which were written from that assembly went in the name of those three Orders. But as the church increased in numbers, the faithful neglecting to assist any longer at those public assemblies, and withdrawing themselves to the care of their own families, the government rested solely in the ministers of the church, and so insensibly became aristocratical, which brought all affairs to have their determinations by Councils excepting as to elections which continued popular still. The Bishops of the same province assembled with their Metropolitan at least twice a year, and made a provincial Synod. The Clergy with their Bishop made a Diocesan Synod. And almost daily they held an assembly called the Consistory, in emulation of the Imperial Council of State and as if they affected to rank themselves with the Council which carried that name.

"In this ecclesiastical consistory, which was composed of all the principal persons of the churches in the city, assisted by the Bishop, all the affairs of the Church were proposed, debated, and determined, a custom which is since abolished everywhere except at Rome, and there only the shadow of it remains. But after benefices were erected, and the priests had their maintenance apart, they made the interest of the community so little their care, that they ceased to go any longer to the consistory, which thus fell into disuse, and was no longer held.

"To supply this, the Bishops held an assembly of all the Clergy of their cathedral church, to assist in their councils, or otherwise to administer the spiritual government. And these, receiving their maintenance out of the common stock, either annually, monthly, or daily, were called canonici (canons), from the word canon, which is the word used in the Western Empire to signify such a measure of corn as was sufficient for the sustenance of a man, a family, or a city. The institution of canons was shortly before the reign of Charlemagne, by whom also it received some improvement as to its regulation.

"It is yet further to be observed that, in those times, the benefices and revenues of the Church were grown to that size that they became rewards for the principal men of the court and cities, who were made Bishops; so the Bishoprics fell to their share, to whom the prince had also committed a great part of the civil government, at first only on extraordinary occasions, but after, finding that their affairs prospered in their hands, they were constantly employed, though not everywhere, in the same quality or station, but as the particular affairs of the place, the abilities of the Bishop, or sometimes the incapacity of the earl or Comes required, which defect was then supplied by substituting the Bishop in his room.

"And hence it came that, when the posterity of Charlemagne fell into such a state of degeneracy as to sink at last into the most profound ignorance of those ages, the bishops thought it advisable no longer to acknowledge this authority as derived from the prince, from whence it

really came, but to assume it to themselves, and exercise it as a right peculiar to their function, under the name of *ecclesiastical jurisdiction*.

“ Such was the origin of this power, which we now see so continually and so desperately contested with Princes, even to endangering the peace of the best civil governments, and sometimes throwing them into convulsions.

“ The want of spirit and genius in the princes of Charlemagne’s posterity, so requisite to fit them for empire, made his statutes of no long duration, so that the former disorders were renewed. The people, in few places and very rarely, had any share in the election of the Bishops; and less in that of the other ministers of the Church. The Bishops ordained whom they pleased, and disposed of benefices with the same liberty, except when the Priest recommended any one, and then they never failed to obey. The Pope was always chosen by the people and confirmed by the Emperor before consecration, and the other Bishops of Italy were never consecrated until the Emperor had first approved them. And this was observed even more strictly in France and in Germany. When the Pope would favour any man’s pretensions to a bishopric near Rome, he applied to the Emperor to desire his nomination. And if it so happened that the Pope were applied to for his consecration of a person who had not the imperial letters of license, he refused consecration till he obtained it. But the posterity of Charlemagne having been driven out of Italy A.D. 884, Pope Adrian III ordained that the Popes should, for the future, be consecrated without application to the Emperor at all.

“ In treating on this subject of benefices, it will certainly not be foreign to our purpose to take notice of the popedom, as we shall again have occasion to do in the sequel of this discourse, seeing it certainly is deservedly to be ranked in the number of benefices, and as it has been expressly so styled by Clement III, in a time when the Pope had not only ascended to the highest pitch of human greatness, *but had taken also a particular style or dignity to distinguish him from other Bishops*.

“ Nothing is more known than that the names of *Sanctus Sanctissimus*, *Beatus Beatisissimus*, were common to all believers in Christ, when all men of that profession were aspiring to an absolute perfection of holiness. But when secular men became more engaged in the affairs of the world than was expedient or decent, and so quitted their titles to those blessed names, they fell to the ecclesiastics only.

“ And after the remissness that was to be found in the inferior Clergy, from their primitive strictness of life, these remained to the Bishops only; but when their characters also sunk in esteem, by too eager a pursuit after the things of this world, *the Bishop of Rome alone* retained these titles, not as designations of virtue, but of grandeur and power.

“ As for the name of Pontifex, it was and is a name common to all Bishops, and there are some canons still extant wherein all Bishops are styled ‘ Summi Pontifices.’ And even the name of ‘ Papa,’ which seems to be a title most peculiar to the ‘ Pontifex Romanus,’ was given indifferently to all Bishops. St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage, is called ‘ Papa,’ St. Jerome gives this title to St. Augustine; and, in later times, Sidonius Apollinaris and many of the Bishops style one another by the name of Popes.

“ And in the decretals of Gratian, we find titles of several canons,

where Martin, Bishop of Bragua, is called Papa. *Gregory VII was the first who, in the year 1076, decreed that the name of Pope should be peculiar to him and to his successors, and be ascribed to none but the Roman Papa.* And this matter was carried to such a height, and with so much appearance of party rage and faction, that Anselm, Bishop of Lucca, one of his followers, hath not scrupled to say that 'it is as absurd and impious to suppose there are more Popes than one, as that there are more than one God.'

Sarpi passes from the *Precaria* of France to the Popes who were excommunicated by their successors. Six who were driven out and de-throned by those who aspired to their place; two who were put to death; and Pope Stephen wounded; and after mentioning several other painful facts, he adds: "And in short such a series of wild disorders gave occasion to historians to say, that these times produced not Popes, but monsters."

Cardinal Baronius, being under some difficulty to treat those corruptions, says, that in those days the Church indeed was, for the most part, without a Pope, but not without a Head, its spiritual head, Christ, being in heaven, who never abandons it. In effect, it is certain that Christ hath never yet forsaken his Church, neither can his Divine promise which He hath made us fail; that He will be with it, even unto the end of the world.

"And on this occasion it is the duty of every Christian to believe, with Baronius, that the same calamities which happened in the world at that time have happened also at another; and that as the assistance of Christ alone preserved the Church in those times, so hath He afforded the shield of defence to the Church, and will continue it to her in all the like events and accidents of this world. *So that a Pope was not necessary to the existence of a Church, even though there should never more have been a Pope.*"

The following passage is in many points applicable to the Jesuits of the present day.

"Yet our age, can boast of a production truly singular and original, and inferior to nothing of the kind which has appeared in any age. This is the institution of the Jesuits, who by a mixture of poverty and abundance, conciliate to themselves the esteem and affection of the world, rejecting with one hand what they receive, and possess as a company and society with the other. For though their professed houses are not capable by their institution of possessing immoveable estates, yet their colleges are capable of acquiring and possessing. They say, and certainly with reason, that no government simple and unmixed is perfect, but that admixtures are found to have their conveniences on all occasions. That the state of poverty embraced by the mendicants hath this defect, that it is only adapted to such as are already well advanced in the way to godliness, whose number therefore cannot be very great. But for their parts, their designs in receiving youth into their college is to instruct and, by an acquisition of all virtues, to fit it for a life of evangelical poverty, so that poverty is indeed their design and essential end, but they grow rich by accident. But the facts we see are yet a stronger degree of evidence than the words we hear. They write themselves that they have at present 21 professed

houses, and 293 colleges. From this disproportion, every man may conclude which is the essential part of their institutions, and which the accidental. Upon the whole it is not to be denied that they have acquired vast riches, and that they are on the high road to increase them. As all the temporalities which the church enjoyeth arose from alms and oblations, so in the Old Testament the fabric of the sanctuary was supported the same way. But when the inspectors of this work saw the people continue their oblations, though all was given already that was needful, they said to Moses, the people give more than is needful, and Moses straight published an order that no more should be offered for the use of the sanctuary, because more than sufficient had been offered already, by which it is manifest that God would have nothing superfluous and abounding in his temple. And if it were his declared pleasure in the Old Testament, which regarded only the things in this world, that all the goods of the Church should not go to her ministers, it is no less declared in the New. But where will their acquisitions end, or what bounds will be set to them? Who among them will say the people have given enough? The ministers of the temple, who made up the thirteenth part of the people, were not capable of receiving or enjoying any more than the tithes. Ours who are scarce the hundredth part of the people possess at this time perhaps more than the fourth.

"It is impossible there could be any inconvenience in churchmen acquiring *ad infinitum*, and if all the rest of the world were reduced to hold everything by *form*? Among Christians human laws have nowhere set bounds to man's estate, because he who increaseth it to-day may alienate it to-morrow. But there is in this case a circumstance perhaps without example: that an order of men, perpetual, and which never dies, should be always capable of acquiring, and never alienating. In the Old Testament the tithes were given to the Levites, because it was the Lord's part, and therefore they were forbidden to take any more. A rule which they who enjoy the privileges of the Levites ought to observe, in taking upon them all the conditions required of them, and not only such as turn to their particular advantage."

CHAPTER X. — page 209.

Without remark on the alteration of the sacramental service in the 1st, 2nd, and 5th Century, and by Gregory the great, it is sufficient to say that, the opinion as to the mass being a propitiatory sacrifice, was not held by some. Reference to the History of the Council of Trent by Sarpi, proves this. Lib. vi, p. 553.

"But concerning the sacrifice of the Masse, in the congregation held until the 18th, all contended resolutely about the oblation of Christ in the supper, and Father Salmeron was the principal man to persuade in the affirmative. He went to the houses of those who were of the other opinion, especially of those who had not given their voice, persuading them to be silent, or at the least to speak remissly, and used the name of Cardinal Varmiense principally, and sometimes of Scripando, intimating the other Legates without naming them. And this he did with such importunity, that the Bishops of Chiozza and Veglia

complained of it in the congregation of the 18th of August. And this second complained of it with very forcible reasons. He told them they should consider well of it, because our propitiatory sacrifice being offered, if it be sufficient to expiate, no other is offered but only for thanksgiving, and he that maintaineth a propitiatory sacrifice in the supper, must needs confess that by it we are redeemed, and not by his death, which is contrary to the Scripture and Christian Doctrine which ascribe our redemption to this. And if any say it is all one, begun in the Supper and ended in the cross, he falleth into another inconvenience as great, because it is a contradiction to say that the beginning of a sacrifice is a sacrifice, and if any one should cease after the beginning and go no further, no man would say he had sacrificed, and it will never be believed that if Christ had not been obedient unto his Father even unto the death of the Cross, but had only made an oblation in the Supper, we had been redeemed, so that it cannot be said that such an oblation may be called a sacrifice, because it is a beginning of it. He said he would not absolutely defend that these arguments were insoluble, but that the Councils ought not to tie the understanding of any, who had conceived an opinion upon such good reasons. He said as he made no difficulty to call the mass a propitiatory sacrifice, so he could not by any means be satisfied. that it should be said that Christ did offer, because it is enough to say that he commanded the oblation.

" For he said, if the synod doth affirm that Christ did offer, the Sacrifice either propitiatory, and so it fall into the difficulties before mentioned, or not propitiatory, and so by that it cannot be concluded that the mass is propitiatory, and therefore that of the priest in the Mass ought not to be. He concluded, that it was more secure to say only, that Christ commanded the apostles to offer a propitiatory sacrifice in the mass.

" The Bishop then censured the Jesuit Salmeron for being factious on matter of faith. Sarpi adds: The Bishop persuaded so many that *it was almost the common opinion not to make mention of the propitiatory sacrifice offered by Christ in the Supper.*

" The General of the Jesuits, was wholly for the oblation of Christ... The opinions were almost equally balanced, yet the Legates at the earnest entreaty of Varmiense, resolved to put the oblation into the decree, not making use of the word propitiatory."

There are priests of the Church of Rome who hold that the mass is commemorative only of the death and passion of the Saviour of the world.

CHAPTER X. — page 212.

To avoid mistakes as to Fra Paolo's office, works, and opinions, it may be well to observe, that, "Opinions or Maxims as to the government of the Republic of Venice," was not written by him. There is no trace of it amongst his MSS.; it is not named in the Index Expurgatoris, and it is not written in his style.

" In a note in the handwriting of Father Giovanni, an Augustine, on the article Canale, is the following, in Gradenigo's Chronicles, " Un

bastardo di casa Canale, veneziana, scrisse molte opere politiche, tra le quali, *L'Opinione come debba governarsi la Repubblica di Venezia*, falsamente attribuita al P. P. Sarpi.¹

And in Cicogna's, *Saggio di Bibliografia Veneziana*, p. 157: "The Opinions or Maxims falsely ascribed to P. Paolo, Servite, as to the government of the Republic for its perpetual dominion, *Meietti*, 1681, and 1685 was reprinted afterwards as if unpublished, with the title Memorial of F. P. Sarpi, and to the Prince and Senate of Venice as to the conduct of the Government of the Republic, Friburg (printed in Italy), 1767, in-12^o."

Griselini alludes to this libel, in his *Memorie anedote*, p. 364. "Le Prince de F. Paolo, où Conseil politiques adressées à la noblesse de Venise, par le Père Paul Sarpi, Berlin, 1751, in-12^o.

(Tran.) This work and its translation first printed in Venice, by R. Meietti, 1681, entitled: Opinions or Maxims of F. Paolo, " etc. was reprinted by Meietti 1685, but with this title: "Opinions FALSELY ATTRIBUTED to F. P. Sarpi." This same work was printed at Leghorn, with the false date of Colonia, by P. Marteau, 1760, entitled: Memorial, etc., as above. But notwithstanding the pains taken to sell this work under different titles as Sarpi's, no one of the learned has ever pronounced it his, but have treated the assertion as did Voltaire of some wrong dates in his History of the Council with ridicule.

Letter of Sir H. Wotton.

To the right worthy Provost, and Professor Regius of Divinity in Cambridge, (Dr. Collins).²

SIR, — Though my feet cannot perform that counsel which I remember from some translation in *Syracides*, ' Teras limen sensati vixi,' yet I should at least have often visited you with my poor lines: but, on the other side, while I durst not trust mine own conceit in the power of my present infirmity, and therefore have seldom written to any, I find myself in the meantime overcharged with divers letters from you of singular kindness, and one of them accompanied with a dainty Peaceful Piece, which truely I had not seen before, so as besides the weight of the subject, it was welcome even for the grace of newness; yet, let me tell you, I could not but somewhat wonder to find our Spiritual Seneca (you know who I mean) among these Reconcilers, having read a former treatise of his (if my memory fail me not) of contrary complexion. Howsoever, now let him have his due praise with the rest for showing his Christian wisdom and charity; but I fear as it was anciently said by a Roman general that " Bellum sese alit;" so it will prove, though in a somewhat different sense, likewise as true of this Church warfare, that the very pleasure of contending will foment contention till the end of all flesh. But let me leave that sacred business to our well-meaning fathers.

And now, Sir, having a fit messenger, and not long after the time when love tokens use to pass between friends, let me bold to send you for a new year's gift a certain memorial not altogether unworthy

¹ Inscriz. Ven., Tom. III, p. 507.

² Relique Wottonianæ.

of some entertainment under your roof; namely, a true picture of Padre Paolo, the Servita, which was first taken by a painter whom I sent unto him from my house, then neighbouring his monastery. I have newly added thereunto a title of mine own conception, Concilii Tridentini Eviscerator, and had sent the frame withal, if it were portable, which is but of plain deal, coloured black, like the habit of ~~the~~ his order. You have a luminous parlour, which I have good cause to remember, not only by delicate fare and freedom (the Prince of dishes), but above all, by your own learned discourse; for to dine with you, is to dine with many good authors. In that room I beseech you to allow it a favourable place for my sake, and that you may have somewhat more to tell than a bare image, if any shall ask, as in the Table of Cebes, *Tίνος ἔστι τὸ δ' ἄγαλμα*; I am desirous to characterize a little unto you such part of his nature, customs, and abilities as I had occasion to know by sight or by inquiry, He was one of the humblest things that could be seen within the bounds of humanity, the very pattern of precept,

“ Quanto doctior, tanto submission. ”

and enough alone to demonstrate that knowledge well digested, — non inflat — excellent in positive, excellent in scholastical and polemical divinity; a rare mathematician, even in the most abstruse parts thereof, as in Algebra and the Theoriques, and yet withal, so expert in the history of plants, as if he had never persued any book but nature. Lastly, a great Canonist, which was the title of his ordinary service with the state, — and certainly in the time of the Pope's interdict they had their principal light from him. When he was either reading or writing alone, his manner was to sit fenced with a castle of paper about his chair and over head, for he was of our Lord of St. Alban's opinion, that all air is predatory, and especially hurtful when the spirits are most employed. You will find a scar in his face, that was from a Roman assassinate, that would have killed him, as he was turned to a wall near convent, if there were not a greater providence about us it might often have been easily done, especially upon such a weak and wearyish body. He was of a quiet and settled temper, which made him prompt in his counsels and answers, and the same in consultation which Themistocles was in action — *Αἴροσχεδάζειν ἴμανταρος* — as will appear unto you in a passage between him and the Prince of Condé. The said Prince in a voluntary journey to Rome came by Venice, where to give some vent to his own humours, he would often divest himself of his greatness, and after others less laudable curiosities, not long before his departure, a desire took him to visit the famous obscure Servita, to whose cloyster coming twice, he was the first time denied to be within; at the second it was intimated, that by reason of his daily admission to their deliberation in the palace, he could not receive the visit of so illustrious a personage without leave. This set a greater edge on the Prince when he saw he should confer with one participant of more than monkish speculations, so after leave gotten he came the third time, and then besides other voluntary discourse (which it were a tyranny over you to repeat), he assailed him with a question enough to have troubled any man but himself, and him too, if a precedent accident had not eased him. The question was *Διαφρήδην* this: he desired to be told by him before his going, who was the true unmasked author of the late Tridentine History?

You must know this, that but newly advertisement was come from

Rome that the Archbishop of Spalato being then re-arrived from England, in an interview between him and the Cardinal Ludovisio, nephew to Gregory the XV, the said Cardinal, after a complemental welcoming him into the Lap ¹ of the Church, told him by order from the Pope, that his Holiness would expect from him some recantation in print as an antidote ² against certain books and pamphlets which he had published whilst he stood in revolt: namely, his first Manifesto; item, two Sermons preached at the Italian Church in London, again a little Tract, entituled his Scogli: and lastly, his greater volumes about Church Regiment and Controversies. These were all named; for as touching the Tridentine History, His Holiness (says the Cardinal) will not press you to any to disavowment thereof, though you have an Epistle before the Original Edition, because we know well enough that Frier Paolo is the Father of that Brat. Upon this last piece of the aforesaid advertisement, the good father came fairly off; for on a sudden laying all together, that to disavow the work was an untruth, to assume it a danger, and to say nothing an incivility, he took a middle evasion, telling the Prince, That he understood he was going to Rome, where he might learn at ease who was the author of that book, as they were freshly intelligenced from thence.

Thus without any mercy of our time I have taken pleasure to remember that man whom God appointed and furnished for a proper instrument to anatomize that pack of reverend cheaters, among whom (I speak of the greater part exceptis ~~fanioribus~~) religion was shuffled like a pair of cards, and the dice so many years were set upon us. And so wishing you very heartily many years, I will let you breathe till you have opened the inclosed, remaining.

Your poor friend to serve you,

(Jan. 17 1637)

HENRY WOTTON."

The Archbishop De Dominis was induced to return to Italy, to Rome, where he died miserably.

"The opinion usually entertained concerning the conduct of De Dominis, upon his return to the church of Rome, is less favourable to his character than he deserves, if we may judge from the narrative of Dr. J. Cosin, Bishop of Durham, in his 'History of Transubstantiation,' (II, § 6). We are assured, that, on his departure from England, he left in writing this memorable declaration: 'I am resolved, even with the danger of my life, to profess before the Pope himself, that the Church of England is a true and orthodox Church of Christ.' "

CHAPTER X. — page 225.

Full of years, but still vigorous in mind, the Doge, Leonardo Donato, died suddenly, and his death, amongst other tidings of importance, is contained in a letter from F. P. Sarpi to M. de Groslot.

¹ That this recantation was to my knowledge never printed at Rome, or elsewhere, through more haste belike in his death. *Quod motus causa.*

² Thus otherwise upon further consideration, that things extorted with fear carry no credit, even by the Praetor's edict.

2 Quod motus causa

" All your letters are come safe. By my former letters, I acknowledged that of the 16th of June, and of the last of the 10th of July, which has brought me joyful news, not only upon account of his Majesty of England's declaration, which appears to me most remarkable, but as to the hopes it gives me of a right understanding and reconciliation amongst all the reformed, and though it should be only in appearance, yet nevertheless it will do a world of good. But I hope it will be indeed and in truth, especially since M. du Plessis is concerned in it, who I hope for his zeal, courage, and dexterity will be infallibly assisted in it by heaven. I have seen the declaration of the synod, which appears to me not only generous but somewhat bold: possibly matters at present require such. As for matters here, you have probably heard of the death of our Doge; it was not untimely, as to his age, he was 77, but yet afflictive, for the Republic has lost a subject of heroic and incomparable virtue. He died on his return one morning from college, where he had fulfilled his duties with his usual decision. The Jesuits, who do more ill absent than present, have spread many things to dishonour his memory, and condemning him to eternal torment, where they are used to imprison all who do not serve or obey them. His successor has been appointed without any disturbance, who though not equal to the deceased in courage, is yet his equal in virtue. I have much to say to you, but in one word I will conclude, if God do not help us, in whom notwithstanding, I really trust, the republic will shortly be another Genoa.

I see I have occupied your time more than I ought; I conclude in kissing your hands, as do Il Signor Molino and P. Fulgenzio, etc. etc."

CHAPTER X. — page 228.

I necrologi della parrocchia di S. Marziale tolgonno ogni dubbio intorno alla vera epoca della morte del Sarpi. Sotto il di 15 Gennaio 1622 (M. V.), cioè 1623, si legge:

" A di ditto il R.do Padre Fra Paulo dell' Ordine de S.ta Maria di Servi, de anni 73, da febre maligna, già giorni 8.

" L'anno dell'età non è esatto, come spesso avviene nella fede di morte. Inscrizione di C. Cicogna, Veneziano, vol. II, pag. 438."

Crasso bewails the death of P. Paolo to Daniel Heinsius, the eminent Professor of Greek at the University of Leyden (born 1580), and successor of J. Scaliger. There was a volume of Poems on the death of F. P. Sarpi destroyed in the fire which consumed the library of the Servi at Venice.

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